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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

- Cuban Revolution Said To Fit Marxist-Leninist Pattern
(O.T. Darusenkov; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 2,
Feb 84)..... 1

NATIONAL

- Deputy Minister of Education on Proposed School Reform
(NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No, 2, Feb 84)..... 17
- USSR Officials Visit Azerbaijan Electorates
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 18 Feb 84)..... 23
- Baybakov Visits Baku
V.A. Medvedev Visits Salyany
Mayorets Visits Stepanakert
- West's View of Recent CPSU National Policy Refuted
(Yu. I. Igritskiy; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1,
Jan 84)..... 40
- Ethnic Germans Form Part of Soviet United Family
(V. Eler; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 29, 19 Jul 83)..... 59
- Author of Chekist's Biography Recalls Work of 'The Trust'
(Teodor Kirillovich Gladkov Interview; SOVETSKAYA
KUL'TURA, 10 Dec 83)..... 62

Yevtushenko's Novel 'Yagodnyye Mesta' Reviewed (Various sources, various dates).....	67
Volkov Review, by Oleg Volkov	
Rasputin Review, by Valentin Rasputin	
Kardin Review, by V. Kardin	
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Review	

Book of Mothers' Legal Privileges Reviewed (Ye. V. Klinova; OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 4: GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 6, Nov-Dec 83)...	89
---	----

Public Opinion Dept Head, Social Studies Institute, on School Reform (V. Korobeynikov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 23 Mar 84)....	92
---	----

REGIONAL

Moldavian CP Central Committee Holds Plenum To Discuss Decree (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 5 Feb 84).....	93
---	----

Decree on Moldavian CP Outlined
Grossu Speech at Plenum

Slyunkov Addresses Belorussian CP Central Committee (SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 22 Feb 84).....	121
---	-----

AzSSR Council of Ministers Discusses Labor Discipline (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 13 Feb 84).....	137
---	-----

Uzbek CC Buro Reviews 1983 Plan Fulfillment (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 10 Feb 84).....	139
---	-----

January Georgian CC CP Buro Meeting Detailed (Editorial; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 12, 21 Jan 84).....	142
--	-----

Educational Improvements Discussed
On Marxism-Leninism University

Tajik CP CC Buro Meetings Reported (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, various dates).....	145
---	-----

Improvements in Brigade System Planned
Progress of Party Elections Noted
1984 State Budget Ratified
Agroindustrial Worker Qualifications Examined

Nuriyev, Voss Speak at Latvian Red Banner Meeting (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 26 Feb 84).....	151
---	-----

Work of Estonian Party Organizations Detailed (V. Niynoya, N. Korkhova; KOMMUNIST ESTONII, No 1, Jan 84).....	161
Ideological Commissions Urged To Focus Attention on Specific Lithuanian Issues (Yu. Tevyalis, Vilkaviskis Raykom; KOMMUNIST, No 1, Jan 84).....	169
Lvov Oblast, Alleged Special Target of Foreign Subversion (V. Vasilets, A. Gurevich; PRAVDA, 13 Feb 84).....	175
Republic VAAP Meeting on Propaganda (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 9 Feb 84).....	178
Uzbekistan Issues Listed in Supreme Soviet Responsibilities (SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 2, Feb 84).....	180
New Uzbek Minister of Social Security Named (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 14 Mar 84).....	182
Former Uzbek Minister of Social Security Promoted (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 8 Mar 84).....	182
New Journal To Propagandize Uzbekistan's Achievements (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 4 Mar 84).....	182
Briefs	
Founder of Lithuanian Atheism Honored	183
Lithuanian Language Commission Formed	183

INTERNATIONAL

CUBAN REVOLUTION SAID TO FIT MARXIST-LENINIST PATTERN

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, Feb 84 pp 17-30

[Article by O.T. Darusenkov: "The Cuban Revolution: From the People's Democratic to the Socialist Stage", under the rubric: "The CPSU and the World Communist Movement"; passages in slantbars printed in italics]

[Text] A quarter of a century ago the military dictatorship was overthrown in Cuba--a dictatorship which for almost seven years had oppressed the country for the benefit of American imperialism and the local oligarchy.

But the Cuban people did not stop there. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro, the revolutionary vanguard which in the course of the struggle with the dictatorship had been formed from the "26th of July Movement", the People's Socialist (Communist) Party and the 13th of March Revolutionary Student Directorate, decisively broke the chain of dependence upon imperialism and set about putting into practice its own long-held aspirations for social liberty and justice.

First to be crushed in Cuba was the shameful tradition which had taken shape in Latin America, under which a succession of reactionary military dictatorships would take power, alternating with more or less liberal bourgeois regimes. Behind the false facade of such changes the anti-popular and anti-nationalist forces would maintain their dominance as always, defending the interests of the international monopolies, a handful of large landowners, sugar magnates, powerful traders and banking magnates which, together with corrupt politicians, the clerical hierarchy and the military, were wallowing in scandalous luxury, created by virtue of exploitation of the working masses.

The victory of the Revolution of 1 January 1959 fundamentally changed the situation in Cuba: the bourgeois-large landowner bloc was removed from political power. "For the first time in our history," declares the Program of the Platform of the Cuban Communist Party, "This power passed into the hands of a union of the popular masses, in which the interests of the working class and the working peasants play the leading role, represented by the victorious Rebel Army and its revolutionary leadership".

A process of profound socio-political and economic changes was begun in the country, as envisaged in the so-called "Moncada Program" taken from Fidel Castro's speech, "History Will Vindicate Me". He delivered this speech at the judicial proceedings on the case of the detachment of young patriots which he led in the attack on the Moncada Army Barracks in the city of Santiago de Cuba, which took place on 26 July 1953. In spite of its failure, this attack was for all practical purposes the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. In essence, these transformations bore the characteristics of a popular-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. In the degree to which it carried out the tasks of this revolution, it was gradually changed into a socialist revolution. On 16 April 1961 Fidel Castro publicly proclaimed its new quality. And Cuba became the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, a new stage was begun in the development of the liberation movement in Latin America.

The Cuban Revolution had an enormous international effect. Hundreds of books and pamphlets and an enormous number of newspaper and magazine articles were written about it. Among the authors were political figures and historians, economists and philosophers, writers and journalists, and other representatives of international social thought.

The reason for such interest in the Cuban Revolution is not merely explained by the fact that it shattered prevailing political mythology and popular opinion, or that it proved the bankruptcy of certain stereotypes in socio-political thinking. In its own way it solved, within a framework of the general laws of the socialist revolutionary process, the specific problems which proceeded from the special conditions in which it was to develop.

The nature of the Cuban Revolution gave birth to quite a few attempts on the part of the enemies of scientific socialism to distort its essence and its experience, and to take separate, improperly-understood or preconceived interpretations of its "exotic" aspects as proof of the indemonstrable "obsolescence" of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. Their efforts, it was noted at the 2nd Congress of the Cuban Communist Party (December, 1980), were directed at "Representing the Cuban Revolution as an exceptional and unique phenomenon, outside the framework of the historical process which develops according to objective laws, denying the consciousness of the actions of the people who led it, and concealing the objective necessity for social changes on our continent" ².

At the same time there was and there is no letup in the efforts of the mighty propaganda apparatus of imperialism, which together with its allies and lackeys is trying to defame the Cuban Revolution, and present the matter in such a manner as if the Cuban people was tricked into getting involved with socialism, and are now paying for this by the "totalitarian regime" which allegedly exists in the country, which is said to be an "agent of Moscow". This great attempt at defamation is displayed in criticism of the achievements of the Cuban Revolution and in the torrents of slander which pour down on the domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Cuba, and so on.

All such "scribblings" are refuted by the research of those who see the Cuban Revolution as the truly outstanding socio-political event of modern times, the experience of which is enriched by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

"One can truly say," said Fidel Castro, "That the revolutionary process in Cuba confirms the exceptional power of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin... The realization of the Cuban Revolution was fraught with great difficulties. To many it seemed an impossibility, and it might not have taken place, it might not have become a reality, if it had not been based on the fertile ideas and principles of Marxism"³.

There cannot be any serious attempt at studying the Cuban Revolution without reference to its authentic historical documents. Among these, naturally, are those which have left their imprint on the development of the revolutionary process, which have determined its basic direction. These chiefly relate to the materials which reflect the fervent revolutionary, party and state activities of Fidel Castro, which have never-ending significance to the victory of the revolution, and to the successful development of socialist Cuba.

In the light of the above, the three-volume edition, "The Thoughts and Ideas of Fidel Castro: A Selection of Topics"⁴, is of great interest. This work is being carried out by the Institute of the History of the Communist Movement and the Socialist Revolution in Cuba at the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. Its purpose is to place at the disposal of the readers materials which disclose the thoughts and ideas of the leader of the Cuban people on various questions of Cuban domestic and foreign policy, which are contained in his reports and speeches, in his appearances on radio and television, in his press conferences, and in his statements for the press, from January 1959 through December 1980; that is, from the victory of the Cuban Revolution to the 2nd Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

The first volume of this edition was published on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the storming of Moncada, which was celebrated by the Cuban people and by all progressive humanity on 26 July 1983.

The volume takes in the period from January 1959 through April 1961; that is, the stage from the overthrow of the dictatorship and the beginning of the popular democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialistic revolution to the appearance of the socialist character of the revolutionary process in Cuba. It is based on careful study and topical selection of excerpts from 331 speeches and other statements of Fidel Castro. "The texts chosen," it states in the introduction to the book, "Are documentary evidence of the Cuban revolutionary experience, and the prominent role of Fidel Castro in fulfilling the task of changing the political consciousness of our people. Each of his speeches, especially during period of direct confrontation with imperialism, is a battle weapon. In terms of their theoretical content and practical value, each of them reflects his exceptional ability to correctly interpret and creatively make use of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete historical conditions in Cuba. The unchanging close association with the masses, and the unity between the people and their leader, are constantly felt on each page of the book, and represent a characteristic element of the Cuban revolutionary process" (p. IX).

The volume which has been published consists of two books and takes in five topics: anti-imperialism and national independence; agrarian reform and other revolutionary transformations; popular-democratic revolution; worker and national unity; and international solidarity.

It is no accident that the topics of anti-imperialism and national independence were given first place in the collection. One of the most complex problems with which the Cuban Revolution was faced since its initial steps consisted of the strivings of Washington not to permit events to develop which might shake the supremacy of American imperialism on the island, or which might lead to any significant socio-political changes whatsoever in the country. And this supremacy was based on quite a firm foundation. American imperialism actually held the Cuban economy in its hands. "Municipal services, the electric power companies, and the telephone companies," pointed out Fidel Castro, "were the property of North American monopolies. A significant number of the banks and import companies, the oil refining plants, a large portion of the sugar industry, the best lands in Cuba and the most important industrial enterprises in all sectors were the properties of North American monopolies. The balance of payments for the last decade (1950-1960) as far as Cuba is concerned gave the United States a positive balance in the amount of one billion dollars. And this does not take in the millions and hundreds of millions of dollars taken from the state treasury by the corrupt leaders of the tyranny, who stashed them in banks in the United States or in Europe" (p. 126).

However, it was not only economic domination which held Cuba in subjection to the USA. There was great significance in the general moral-political situation in the country which had taken shape in its history, brought about nonetheless by the profound ideological domination of American imperialism. Prerevolutionary Cuba, in the words of Fidel Castro, was a colony of American imperialism not only from the point of view of economics, but also in the area of ideology. Foreign influence through the medium of all kinds of propaganda, through the media of the press, magazines, reports, ads, films, and books was so strong, he said, that the profile of the Cuban national character was almost erased, and the Cubans were powerless to withstand this⁵.

There was a deeply-rooted idea in the collective consciousness of the people, in accordance with which Cuba was "fatally" condemned to dependence on American imperialism by virtue of its geographic proximity to the USA. Moreover, under the influence of similar propaganda a portion of the people, not to mention the representatives of the oligarchy, even saw a certain kind of "blessing" in this dependence in allegedly guaranteeing the functioning of the Cuban economy and the "freedom" of the country.

By virtue of the fact that the economy and the mass information media were concentrated in the hands of American monopolistic companies and the local landowners and bourgeoisie, the Cuban populace was subjected to the pernicious influence of anticommunist propaganda. "Many of our citizens, including representatives of the poorest strata and those who came from it," it was noted at the 1st Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, summarizing the results of the Cuban Revolution and the building of socialism in the country

up to 1975, "Reacted to the word socialism with fear and to the word communism with still more fear. This was a vestige which had taken root in the course of many decades as a result of the false and treacherous propaganda directed against our revolution. Not having an elementary conception of the social roots of the national problems and the objective laws for the development of human society, a significant number of our people were prisoners of false ideas and perceptions. The exploiters did not so much succeed in introducing their own political ideas as much as they were able to inculcate many with the most reactionary reflexes. The presence of a rather large number of petty bourgeoisie in our society, cultural backwardness and illiteracy, made things easy for the political propaganda of imperialism and the ruling classes"⁶.

At that time a change to genuine freedom in Cuba, much less to socialism, appeared to be so difficult as to be almost unbelievable. This is supported by the fact that even the Popular Socialist Party--the party of the Cuban communists, which had been founded in 1925 and which had selflessly borne the ideals of socialism to the masses, had essentially based its activities on the fact that such a change could not be made in the foreseeable future. "We the communists of that time," remarked Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, one of the leaders of the Popular Socialist Party, today a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, "Were struggling in our small country for the weakening of the global might of imperialism; however, it seemed to many of us that the rather small geographical dimensions of Cuba, and its direct proximity to the USA, with the economic and military inequality of the two countries, would not permit it to become the first free country in Latin America, much less bring about a socialist revolution--although we were filled with the resolve to put this task into operation. And it was namely in this spirit that we carried on our work, paying no attention to the fact that Yankee intervention, which we thought was inevitable in such a situation, would suppress us. We thought that our example would be of service to all of Latin America and to the cause of socialism"⁷.

One had to possess genuinely exemplary courage and a high feeling of patriotism in order to take such a seemingly impregnable fortress by storm. And the Cuban revolutionaries did it! As early as the second day following the overthrow of the dictatorship, 2 January 1959, Fidel Castro appearing at a meeting in Cespedes Park in the city of Santiago de Cuba, hurled a challenge to American domination and promised the people to fulfill their cherished dreams. "This time the Revolution will not be defeated," he declared. "This time, fortunately for Cuba, the Revolution will truly meet its ends and there will be no repetition of 1895, when the Americans came and became the masters of our country; they invaded at the last moment, and then did not even permit Calixto Garcia⁸, who had fought for 30 years, to enter the city of Santiago de Cuba; there will be no repetition of 1933, when the people had begun to believe that the Revolution would take place, but Mr. Batista came and betrayed the Revolution, usurped power and set up a brutal dictatorship; and there will be no repetition of 1944, when the general public enthusiastically believed that the people had finally come to power,

when in fact the plunderers came to power. There are no plunderers, no traitors, and no interventionists--This time it is a true Revolution!... A Revolution cannot be completed in a day, but be assured, that we shall make a Revolution; be assured that for the first time and for real our republic will be completely free and its people will receive everything which they deserve" (p. 3).

Through the prism of the materials of this section, one can clearly see the upheaval of the sharpest clashes between revolutionary Cuba and American imperialism, which immediately after the popular government came to power unleashed a campaign of slander against it, utilizing as a pretext the just punishment of the military criminals of the dictatorship. Continuing this line, it then resorted to methods of the most severe political and economic pressure, including: cancellation of the Cuban quota for sale of sugar to the USA; refusal to supply oil to Cuba, as well as spare parts for machinery and equipment; a complete ban on trade with Cuba; and breaking diplomatic relations with her. Full-scale clandestine diversionary operations were unleashed against Cuba, and preparation for intervention was begun.

Fidel Castro's speeches during this period, which are presented in the book, reflect the tension of the confrontation with the imperialistic colossus, which was without precedent in the history of Cuba. Fidel Castro convincingly unmasks the counterrevolutionary maneuvers and the criminal actions of American imperialism and its domestic allies; he shows the objective necessity for Cuba to put an end to foreign dependence, in order to have the opportunity to solve her severe socio-economic and political problems. He explains the reasons for the USA's aggressiveness toward Cuba, and convincingly reveals, with specific examples, the exploitative essence of imperialism as a system and at the same time emphasizes that the struggle which the Cuban people is waging against the American monopolies is not a war against the American people.

Castro's appeal to the people, permeated with revolutionary passion and conviction, aroused high patriotic feelings and inspired confidence in victory over the enemy in the unequal encounter. In a speech at the funeral for the victims of the criminal destruction of the ship "Le Coubre", which occurred on 5 March 1960, Fidel Castro made the following appeal: "Let us declare once and for all, that we do not fear any armed invasion of our country. We shall take up arms without fear, and shall man our battle posts--without fear, without any hesitation, no matter what foreign troops should land in our country! We, the Cuban people--workers, peasants, students, women, young and old and even children--will take up our fighting positions without trembling. We shall do this calmly, without fear, and without trembling on any day that foreign troops are bold enough to land on our coast, from ships or from aircraft, or from whatever, and no matter how many they are" (p. 43).

This appeal from Fidel Castro soon became a reality. When, in April 1961, a brigade of American mercenaries landed at the Bay of Pigs, the entire Cuban nation, from the small to the great, heroically arose to the defense

of their fatherland, to the defense of their revolutionary gains, to the defense of the socialist revolution. And the military adventure of American imperialism suffered an ignominious defeat. In essence it was, as Fidel Castro noted, "The first major military defeat of Yankee imperialism in America" (pp. 165-186).

The Law on Agrarian Reform, which was adopted in May 1959, was the most radical measure of the initial stage of the Cuban Revolution. In accordance with this law, nationalization of the large landholdings was carried out; these holdings were the property of both foreign monopolies and the local land-holding oligarchy. The land was turned over to the working peasants who had been cultivating it. The large landholdings, which had used hired labor, were nationalized and were maintained as production units, initially in the form of production cooperatives, and then as state farms. At the same time, a push was given to the process which led to the transformation of one of the basic means of production--land--from private ownership to state ownership. In accordance with the class interests expressed by the leadership of the revolutionary state, this reform, as was noted subsequently at the 1st Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, signified the birth of a new sector--the prototype of a socialist economy⁹.

The agrarian reform had enormous political consequences. It dealt a crushing blow to the imperialistic interests, promoted acceleration of the rate of socialist transformations on a more clearly-expressed class basis, and gave a powerful impetus to raising the level of mass revolutionary consciousness. Owing to hostile pressure from the USA, the situation in the country was one in which class forces were rapidly becoming polarized. All groups of the national bourgeoisie ultimately moved to ally themselves with the imperialists and with the oligarchy and their stooges, who had been removed from power. All of this promoted the radicalization of the masses and the entire revolutionary process. The first Havana Declaration, adopted on 2 September 1960, openly condemned the exploitation of man by man, having outlined the future prospects for the development of society. In August and September of 1960, in response to the aggressive actions of the USA, nationalization of the property of the American monopolies was carried out; in October, the enterprises and institutions belonging to major national capital were nationalized. These nationalizations were not simply anti-imperialistic measures. They bore witness to the fact that the Cuban Revolution had earnestly begun to approach the solution of problems of a socialist character. And Cuba's historic change to socialism had begun.

The remarks collected in the section, "Agrarian Reform and Other Revolutionary Transformations", principally reflect the feverish activities of Fidel Castro in explaining to the people the objective necessity of carrying out agrarian reform and those economic and social results which this just measure should bring not only for the unfortunate rural population, but for the entire nation, promoting the development of industry and social progress. These presentations are a genuine encyclopedia on the agrarian question in Cuba. They were completed in Fidel Castro's speech at the 1st Regional Agricultural Conference of the Nations of Latin America (Havana, 6 March 1961), in which Cuba's experience accumulated thus far in conducting agrarian reform was summarized, stressing the significance of the agrarian problem to the entire continent (see pp. 267-288).

In the given section great attention is devoted to solution of other important social problems as well. Fidel Castro, describing living conditions in Cuba up to the moment of victory of the revolution, said that 600,000 able-bodied Cubans had no work whatsoever; that 3,000,000 people out of the total number of citizens, which at that time was over 6,000,000, did not have electric lights; that 3,500,000 people were living in huts, barracks and shacks without any municipal services whatsoever; that 37.5 per cent of the population was illiterate; two per cent suffered from tuberculosis; that 95 per cent of the children in the rural regions suffered from parasitic diseases; that child mortality was very high, and that the average length of life was very low (See pp. 125-126).

The national government, naturally, could not overlook the poverty-stricken condition of the broad mass of the populace. In spite of the limited resources at the disposal of the national government, it undertook measures to improve the material situation of the workers, literally with its first steps. In Fidel Castro's speeches the extensive program of the appropriate transformations is unfolded.

Workers who had been dismissed from the enterprises during the period of the dictatorship returned to their places of work. The practice of driving the peasants off the land was stopped. On 6 March 1959 a law went into effect for a 50 per cent reduction of the exorbitantly high rent for apartments. On 21 April all beaches in the nation were opened for the use of the people. On 20 August the rates for electric power were reduced. Implementation of measures was begun to eliminate mass unemployment. Special attention was devoted to the struggle for fundamental improvements in the spheres of education and health care. Thousands of teachers were sent to work in the rural areas. In the more remote areas of the country numerous hospitals began to be built. Games of chance, trade in narcotics and contraband were forbidden, and the necessary measures were taken to put an end to prostitution. Successful work was begun on eliminating slums, and construction of housing was commenced. Poverty gradually began to disappear, and homeless children were no longer to be found begging for alms on the streets, etc.

The section on "The Popular-Democratic Revolution" reflects the process of the destruction of the old exploitative state machinery and its replacement with a people's state, which exists to serve the working masses, and which realizes genuine democracy in practice.

The overthrow of the dictatorship led to liberation of political prisoners. Parties and political groupings of the tyrannical regime were dispersed, as well as the central and local organs of state power, in whose place new organs were established, headed by the revolutionary government. The former army and police--the weapons of imperialism--were disarmed and dispersed. They were replaced by the Revolutionary Army, in other words by the people, who stand ready to defend national sovereignty and the gains of the revolution. Committees for defense of the revolution were created; these became the most popular organization in the country and played an important role in the struggle with the counterrevolution and agents of American imperialism.

The judicial system was subjected to a purge. "Extraordinary tribunals", which had been established for suppressing democratic and political activity of a revolutionary nature, were eliminated. The newly-established revolutionary tribunals were trying cases and were punishing plainclothes policemen, informants and military criminals. The authority of the trade union bureaucrats, who were lackeys of tyranny and who had defended anti-worker interests, was brought to an end. In their place, temporary administrative organs appeared, which supervised the election by the workers of new trade union leaders. The property of those who had made a fortune at the expense of the state treasury, by means of filthy machinations in cooperation with the previous government, was confiscated. This confiscation, along with nationalization of the lands of the major land-holders was the beginning of the establishing of the state sector of the economy. The revolutionary government also adopted the necessary measures for eliminating racial discrimination and the unequal position of women.

With the victory of the revolution the Cuban people received the broadest and most genuinely democratic rights and liberties.

Thanks to the speeches of Fidel Castro of this period, the Cuban people, figuratively speaking, completed a course of education in democracy--so profound and so universal were the statements of the leader of the Cuban Revolution in this respect. Fidel Castro gives a precise definition of democracy as the instrument for realizing the rights of the people, and contrasts the authentic democracy which the revolution brought to Cuba with that which the exploiting classes called democracy. With the aid of the irrefutable arguments which the masses understand, he exposes the slanderous campaign of the counterrevolutionary forces and American imperialism--which, on the pretext that in that period no elections were held in Cuba and that bourgeois legal procedures ceased to function, accused the revolutionary government of being opposed to democracy. But Fidel Castro casts down the bourgeois conception of a so-called "representative democracy".

A characteristic of Fidel Castro is his remarkable ability to politically educate the masses, on the basis of specific facts, in an easily understood manner. Here is an example from one of his speeches: "Democracy"--Fidel Castro declared at a meeting in Havana on May Day, 1960, "That is when the majority rules. Democracy--That is when the opinion of the majority is taken into account. Democracy--That is when the interests of the majority are protected. Democracy--That is when a person is guaranteed the right to not only think freely, but also to be able to express his thoughts on paper; the right to be able to read about that which he is thinking or what others are thinking; the right to bread; the right to work; the right to the blessings of culture; the right to be a respected member of society. It is precisely because of this that the Cuban Revolution is also a democracy!

"...Democracy--That is when the people become powerful, because they are united! Democracy--That is when rifles are given to the peasants; when rifles are given to the workers; when rifles are given to the students; when rifles are given to the women; when rifles are given to the Negroes; when rifles are given to the poor; when rifles are given to any citizen who is prepared to defend a just cause! Democracy--That is not only when the rights of the majority are considered, but when this majority is also given weapons! And all of this is by the authority of the only authentic democratic government, under which the majority of the people rule!" (pp. 426-427).

The profound socio-economic and political transformations, the very logic of the development of the class struggle, the increasing hostility of American imperialism, and the great work undertaken by the revolutionary vanguard in political education of the masses, led to a turning point in the social consciousness of the nation, to the people's understanding of the necessity for achieving the ends of the revolution; that is, the victory of socialism.

The materials in the section on "The Worker and National Unity" are, I believe, most important for an understanding of the specific features of the revolutionary process in Cuba in the period of development from a popular-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

Objectively, the principal motive force in the Cuban Revolution was the urban and rural proletariat, whose ranks contained nearly a million people, and who possessed a great deal of experience in the class struggle. It was precisely the proletariat that was by far the most consistent and the most terrible enemy of the oligarchy, which served as the support for imperialistic domination of the USA over Cuba. "To the working class, the bearer of revolutionary ideology, which marches out in close unity with the peasantry and the middle strata of our society", stressed Fidel Castro in this connection, "Belongs the leading role in the new revolution, and the working class has determined its character"¹⁰.

At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that the capabilities of the Cuban proletariat as the leaders of the revolution were to a certain extent limited in its first stages. This is explained first of all by the schism in the workers' movement which the ruling circles managed to achieve in the first years after the Second World War. Utilizing the workers' bureaucracy and gangsters, who did not hesitate to physically destroy worker activists and honest trade union leaders, they placed the trade union movement under government control. The group of Eusebio Mujal, into whose hands the Confederation of Cuban Workers was delivered, took an anti-worker position under the guise of unbridled social demagoguery. Internally, the Confederation was spreading anticommunism.

The schism in the workers' movement made it easy to achieve a significant stratification of the Cuban proletariat, in whose midst were strata of the working aristocracy. At the same time that the basic mass of the workers--agricultural workers and a significant portion of the workers in the sugar mills (more than 600,000 people in all)--were receiving miserly wages and had work for only three or four months out of the year, the workers in other industrial enterprises, especially in Havana, who were occupied throughout the year, were earning considerably more. And what is more, a deep chasm lay between them, those who had work and those who had none. The situation of the latter was pathetic, since the high level of unemployment was chronic. This for all practical purposes denied them any opportunity to escape from poverty.

The schism in the ranks of the workers' movement and the domination of the Mujalist clique in the trade unions could not, of course, stop the struggle of the proletariat for their rights, which had been trampled. A significant part of the Cuban workers continued to follow the progressive labor leaders.

The government's CTC [Confederacion de Trabajadores Cubanos: Confederation of Cuban Workers] opposed the committees for defense of workers' demands and for democratization of the CTC, which were established on the initiative of the communists. Powerful strikes rocked the country frequently. And the enormous revolutionary potential of the working class revealed itself, particularly during the strike by the workers of the sugar industry in December, 1955, which grew into a nationwide strike that literally staggered the dictatorial regime. And nevertheless the aforementioned conditions reduced the strength of the proletariat, and for a long time hindered it from rising en masse and transforming its economic struggle into a political struggle. This came to pass only at the final stage of the opposition to the dictatorship.

One of the unique features of the Cuban revolution is that, although it did lead to the victory of socialism in Cuba, nevertheless during the period of struggle against the military dictatorship, and for establishing revolutionary power, it was led not by the communist party but by the "26th of July Movement", which at that moment was not openly espousing socialist goals, and was supporting a generally democratic, anti-imperialist platform. The focus of the unity of the revolutionary forces was the Revolutionary Army, headed by Fidel Castro.

The party of the Cuban communists made a great and glorious journey. It made an enormous contribution to the struggle for the liberation of the Cuban people, spreading Marxism-Leninism and displaying an inspiring example of selfless defense of the interests of the workers. As a result, Marxist-Leninist ideas were transformed into attractive and indisputable teachings for many of Cuba's revolutionary warriors.

Due to the fact that communists represented the greatest danger to the ruling classes of the country and to American imperialism, the latter waged a frontal assault against the Popular Socialist Party. For this purpose not only was oppression used, right down to physical annihilation of party activists, but also massive propaganda for the purpose of presenting the communists as "antinational forces", "agents of foreign powers" pursuing the goal of establishing "totalitarianism" in Cuba, etc. All of this taken together severely limited the contacts of communists with the broad sectors of the population, and made their work difficult. Even conscientious representatives of the workers, who supported the party in the belief that only it could effectively resolve the historical problems which were facing the nation, in actuality often did not believe in the possibility of a communist victory, much less that they would be able to maintain power, since the USA, which more than once had resorted to armed intervention in Cuba in the past, would under no circumstances allow this to take place.

For a long time the party lacked a unified approach to tactical questions; this had a strong effect on the role of the communists in the struggle against the dictatorship. On the one hand the party was oriented toward developing a mass movement, and above all a strike movement; while on the other hand the political forces had taken the initiative to adopt armed conflict as the main form of the struggle.

Thus, "In these concrete circumstances it was very difficult, if not impossible, for the communist party of Cuba to rally around itself the fundamental strength of the proletariat and the peasantry, and the middle urban stratum, to secure the support of the broad sectors of the national bourgeoisie and to paralyze the oligarchy, which was achieved at the last stage of the struggle"¹. As a result the party, although it was an active part of the democratic movement, did not have the ability to render a decisive influence on the course of political events in the country.

Under these conditions, the revolutionary activity of the radical wing of the petty bourgeoisie, which had for a long time played an important role in the struggle to liberate the Cuban people, became very important. The worsening of the socio-economic contradictions and the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology as a result of the selfless work of the Cuban communists and the general growth of the strength of socialism in the world, promoted the radicalization of ever broader strata of the petty bourgeoisie. This process became especially noticeable toward the end of the 1940's and the early 1950's. It found its expression, in particular, in the activity of the party of the Cuban people, or, as it was still called, the "Orthodox" Party. Although the leadership of this mass petty bourgeois party, which was established in 1947, was in the hands of representatives of the landowners and the bourgeois, which in the final analysis dictated its political course--nevertheless there appeared within its rank and file a genuine striving toward profound social changes in the country, and certain representatives of the left wing of the party and especially from among the young people, sympathized more and more strongly with socialist ideas. It was precisely from the ranks of these young people that the majority of Fidel Castro's brothers-in-arms came, who created the revolutionary "26th of July Movement", the characteristic peculiarity of which was the fact that its principal leaders followed the most important precepts of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory in their activities, and the basic mass of its participants came from the poor sectors of the population--the workers, peasants, minor public servants, craftsmen, small tradesmen and so on. To a still greater degree this was characteristic of the workers and the peasants. The popular-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialistic revolution in Cuba rapidly grew into a socialist revolution. And this shift came about under the leadership of a group which was not purely proletarian, a group which did not have a Marxist-Leninist party in an organized form. The credit for realizing this enormous historic victory belongs to Fidel Castro and to his brothers-in-arms.

However, it would be untrue to attempt on this basis to make any conclusions from the Cuban experience that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, which determine the cardinal laws of the revolutionary process, had ceased to operate and that clear Marxist principles can be exchanged for voluntaristic interpretations, giving the non-proletarian classes and non-communist parties the ability and the right to revise the fundamentals of scientific communism. The account of the Cuban experience is valuable chiefly because of its appeal to avoid dogmatism and dead schemes in a vital revolutionary cause.

Marxist-Leninist science proceeds from the fact that only those political forces whose program and practical activities realize to the greatest degree those objective capabilities which the working class possesses, those objective and universal tasks with which they are faced, can become the true vanguard of the revolution. "It's not enough, you see, to call yourself the 'vanguard', the front-line contingent", wrote V.I. Lenin--"You also have to act in such a way that all the other groups will see and will be forced to admit that we are going forward"^{1 2}.

The leader in a revolutionary alliance will be the one who is best able to attract people to his selfless struggle at the main sector of the revolutionary front, showing examples of firmness, consistency and heroism; to direct people more fully and precisely, revealing the conditions and the prospects for the struggle, and producing slogans which not only express the demands of the front-line contingent, but which are also capable of arousing enthusiasm among the masses^{1 3}.

The Cuban Revolution was able to achieve victory and survive precisely because within it, although in a unique form, the proletariat had hegemony; for the revolutionary process /moved in accordance with the interests and the ideology of the proletariat, which was reflected and expressed by the revolutionary vanguard headed by Fidel Castro/.

In the concrete conditions of the development of the revolutionary process in Cuba, the role of the vanguard was played by the leaders of the Revolutionary Army and the "26th of July Movement". Communists also made a large contribution to the victory of the Cuban Revolution and establishing Cuba on the way to building socialism. Subsequently, the logic of the development of the revolutionary struggle and the correct political position of the leadership of the Popular Socialist Party, headed by Blas Roca, is founded on in-depth analysis of concrete reality and correct understanding of the essence of revolutionary unity, and led to organizational association under the leadership of Fidel Castro and his closest comrades-in-arms in all of the truly revolutionary forces in the country, including the Popular Socialist Party. Thus, the Cuban Revolution managed to avoid a dangerous and fruitless dispute, which threatened to divide the revolutionary forces, concerning who should represent the hegemony of the proletariat--for it was already realized in practice^{1 4}.

The struggle for national unity could not lead to ultimate success without achieving the unity of the revolutionary forces themselves. "During that period", recalls Fidel Castro, "We were just carrying out work on uniting the revolutionary forces in one organization, under a unified leadership" (p. XII). Agreement on such an association was achieved at the moment the socialistic nature of the Cuban Revolution appeared. Therefore, 16 April 1961 is considered the day on which the present Cuban Communist Party was founded.

The creation of a unified Marxist-Leninist organization gave powerful new impetus to the development of the revolution.

The materials included in the section of the book which we have examined reflect the tireless struggle of Fidel Castro for strengthening worker and national unity, and rallying the working masses around the revolutionary leadership. In a speech on 19 February 1959, Fidel Castro clearly stated that "Victory for our revolution will be a victory for all, just as its defeat will be a defeat for all" (p. 566).

The struggle for strengthening worker and national unity, naturally, required conducting a great deal of educational work with the masses. "Each of the revolutionary measures taken", noted Fidel Castro, "Developed consciousness. We began to explain to the people all the problems which were facing the nation, and began to rely on them. We began to speak to them of the difficulties, of the available resources, and about everything that would help them to understand that earlier they were living under conditions of an exploitative regime; this helped them to begin to understand just what socialism is. People began to say: 'If this is socialism, then socialism is welcome'. First socialism was accepted, and later Marxism-Leninism began to be accepted. In other words, here the facts preceded the theoretical explanation. And later the time came for theoretical explanations as well.

"...Of course, it became necessary to wage a stubborn fight against anti-communism. It became necessary to make several speeches on this subject. Television, radio and all other means of propaganda were utilized for this purpose. After all, the enemy immediately tried to introduce dissention in our ranks, and he tried to take advantage of the still-existing prejudices. But the policy of unity was carried on steadfastly"¹⁵

The line of the revolutionary vanguard was directed toward "attracting to the revolution all levels of the population which were close to the working class and peasantry" (p. 587).

During this period Fidel Castro devoted a great deal of effort to convince the broadest segments of the proletarian masses to concentrate their efforts on strengthening and developing the revolution. The victory or the defeat of the revolution, he stressed in many of his speeches, depends on the unity of the working class. He repeatedly remarked that the working class has been summoned to be--and is--the most important factor of the revolution. It was precisely because of this that, issuing the order for a general offensive against the forces of the dictatorship in the decisive moment of the war, that Fidel Castro at the same time called on the workers to conduct a general strike.

At the 10th Congress of the CTC on 18 November 1959 Fidel Castro described the working class as "The most important and the decisive factor in the political life of the country". "Inasmuch as it is precisely the working class, which arose in a general strike on the appeal of the Revolutionary Army, which dealt the decisive blow to the plans of those who at the last hour wanted to snatch victory from the people, as happened more than once in the past. It was precisely that general strike--and we can confirm this with complete confidence, for we were direct participants in those revolutionary times--that threw into confusion the final maneuvers of the enemies of the people, helped us to take the military stronghold of the capital of the republic, and handed complete power over to the Revolution" (p. 499).

Appealing to the popular masses, Fidel Castro tirelessly emphasized the exceptional significance of a firm alliance of workers and peasants for the success of the revolutionary transformations. "I ask myself", he said in one of his speeches, "And we must all ask ourselves in the face of the maneuvers of those who want to place on the necks of the peasants and workers a yoke of evil and injustice of the privileged, in the face of whose plans we ask: What can they do against the united workers and peasants? What are their chances of success against the united workers and peasants? Can they have any hope of regaining the power they once had, in order to impose their repulsive and shameful interests, if the workers and the peasants are united? And not only united, but with weapons in their hands?" (p. 501).

Fidel Castro personally did a great deal for resurrecting the trade union movement on a healthy basis, purging from it the remnants of "Mujalism", which had encouraged a policy of anticommunism, schism and "economism". In this respect his speeches at the 10th Congress of the CTC and other trade union measures were highly significant; the very brightest pages of the anthology pertain to these.

The final section of the anthology includes the statements of Fidel Castro on international solidarity. Here are found his repeated statements which stress the decisive role of the solidarity of the progressive forces in Latin America and the entire world, the socialist commonwealth, and especially the Soviet Union, in achieving the final victory of the Cuban Revolution and the transformation of Cuba into a socialist state.

Summarizing these statements, the compilers of the anthology write in particular in the introduction that it was: "Namely the Soviet Union who accepted our sugar, when the USA cancelled the Cuban quota; it was namely she who set up an oil bridge, when the USA refused to supply her own oil; it was namely she who sent us basic foodstuffs in the most critical moments of the economic blockade; it was namely she together with the other countries of the socialist camp who supplied us, in the face of the provocations and aggressions of imperialism, with the weapons necessary to destroy the enemies of the revolution; and it was namely she that not only supplied us with combat arms, but also offered specialists and advisors and other necessary personnel to train our troops. From all of this one can confirm that international solidarity with Cuba was, along with the unity of the revolutionary forces and the people, the decisive factor of our victory" (p. XIII).

It was characteristic for the Cuban Revolution that the problem of international solidarity was never accepted by its leaders as unilateral. Even in the first years, when the basic efforts of the Cuban people were directed toward consolidation and defense of her own revolution, that Fidel Castro in his speeches formulated foreign policy principles which envisage the active solidarity of Cuba with the just causes of other struggling nations. In his speech at the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly on 26 September 1960, Fidel Castro clearly stated: "We are on the side of the colonial people, the people who wish to be free" (pp. 629-631).

Fidel Castro's speeches bear witness to the political boldness and courage of the Cuban revolutionaries, their ability to subtly feel the nuances in the mood of the masses, their ability to find solutions in confusing and complex situations, and to set the real tasks for each given moment in the development of the revolutionary struggle.

Fidel Castro's speeches are an important contribution to the propagandizing and theoretical interpretation of the valuable experience of the Cuban Revolution and the building of socialism in Cuba. They acquaint one with the details of the history, the lessons and the tasks of the Cuban Revolution--an important, integral part of the world revolutionary process.

FOOTNOTES

1. First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Havana, 17-22 December 1975. Moscow, 1976, p 309.
2. Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Havana, 17-20 December 1980. Moscow, 1982, p 301.
3. F. Castro, "Budushchee prinadlezhit internatsionalizmu" [The Future Belongs to Internationalism], Moscow, 1973, p 286.
4. "El Pensamiento de Fidel Castro. Seleccin tematica" [The Thoughts of Fidel Castro. A Selection of Themes], Vol I, Parts 1 and 2. January 1959-April 1961, Havana, 1983, 812 p.
5. See First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, p 39.
6. Ibid., pp 38-39.
7. Bohemia, 1983, No 26, p 52.
8. One of the outstanding generals of the Cuban Liberation Army, who fought against Spanish dominance.
9. See First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, p 311.
10. Ediciones OR, La Habana, No. 7, 1979, p 9.
11. C.R. Rodriguez, "Cuba en el transito al socialismo. 1959-1963" [Cuba in Transition to Socialism], Havana, 1979, pp 92-93.
12. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 6, pp 83-84.
13. See "Revolutsionnyy protsess: obshchee i osobennoe" [The Revolutionary Process: General and Specific], Moscow, 1981, pp 108-109.
14. See C. R. Rodriguez, op. cit. pp 114-115.
15. Kommunist, 1978, No. 15, pp 35-36.

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NATIONAL

DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION ON PROPOSED SCHOOL REFORM

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 84 (signed to press 27 Dec 83) pp 2-4

[Comments by V. Korotov, deputy USSR minister of education, recorded by V. Yevseyev: "Toward Reason" under the rubric "Practice: Experience, Problems"]

[Text] Important and responsible tasks face the Soviet school system. The 26th CPSU Congress demanded a stronger linkage of education to life, an improved quality of education and improvement in the labor and moral upbringing of schoolchildren. The need to elevate the level of educational work in schools was also mentioned at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The task posed is to broaden the ideational horizon of students, to inculcate in them all the high qualities of the citizen of the socialist society, of an active builder of communism. An organic part of this task is forming a scientific-materialist world outlook and firm atheistic convictions in the rising generation. This also is the subject of the column "Practice: Experience, Problems," which publishes such materials as the comments [published below] of the Deputy USSR Minister of Education V. Korotov, a reportage by our special correspondents from the city of Nevinnomyssk, Stavropol Kray, and an article on upbringing work at schools of Crimean Oblast by M. Zakharov, candidate of philosophical sciences.

These articles, like many others in this journal, not only assess positive experience but also convincingly refute the fabrications of foreign propaganda concerning some atheistic duress being imposed on believing children in Soviet schools. The bourgeois and clerical press and radio exert every effort to propagate the fabrication that, allegedly, in Soviet schools children from the families of believers are discriminated against, ridiculed and humiliated. But a consideration of the facts utterly demolishes this lie. As a rule, such children are equal members of the student collective, which surrounds them with benevolent attention, attracts their participation in its multifaceted activities and, tactfully and in the absence of duress, helps them to develop a correct world outlook. The intellectual liberation of youth from religious illusions, prejudices and superstitions has an obvious humanist meaning.

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[Comments by V. Korotov, Deputy USSR Minister of Education]

Six years have passed since universal compulsory 10-year schooling was introduced. This fact is of great political and social importance. For the first time in the history of our country, academic and vocational schools are providing secondary education to practically all young people.

But providing 10 years of formal education to a student in itself is not everything. There is also the need to educate him as a citizen, a person with communist ideals. That is why each year the requirements posed to the school system are increased. It is no accident that the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum called upon educators to elevate the level of upbringing work at schools and adjust it to contemporary needs. It is this party directive that predetermines the nature of our current work, which will proceed along the line of further refinement of, primarily, the upbringing of schoolchildren and their preparation for a life of labor.

In this connection we expect to implement a number of major tasks, one of which will be a genuine linkage of education to productive labor. Generally speaking, the preparation of schoolchildren for a life of labor is nothing new in Soviet schools. The essence of the modern approach is that the children should perceive the fruits of their labor, its real usefulness.

The schools are not starting this task from the scratch. We have gained interesting experience in the activity of inter-school training-production combines for the labor training and vocational guidance of upperclassmen (UPK). At present practically every secondary school is linked to a base enterprise or farm that organizes and conducts the production training of students, who thus not only learn job skills but also assist enterprises in their production activities.

There is also another form of labor education. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the establishment of student production brigades, which are especially widespread in the countryside. The originators of this movement were the Grigoripolis school in Stavropol Kray and a number of schools in the Ukraine.

In Istrinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, there is the Kostrovskaya Secondary School where students organized links [work teams] providing considerable practical assistance to the farm under their patronage. For example, upperclassmen grouped within regular teams of animal husbandrymen work on animal farms on a year-round basis rather than sporadically. During the vegetable harvesting season, junior graders participate in the operations under the direction of the kolkhoz's veterans.

Labor detachments of upperclassmen have also been set up in various branches of industry. There even arose a movement under the slogan "Let us give our Moms a vacation." The children learn the occupations of their parents and replace them in their jobs while they are on vacation.

Of course, the vocational shops at schools also should be borne in mind. They still harbor a considerable potential. In this work we lean on the experience of our best teachers. Consider for example Nikolay Nikolayevich Shishkin, a physics teacher at a Baku school. Together with his students, he installed shops for the construction of physics instruments. At present, such instruments built by students can be seen in dozens of schools in Azerbaijan's capital. Similar interesting work is being done at their schools by Nikolay Petrovich Guzik of Odessa, the Moscow biology teacher Boris Alekseyevich Merkulov, and many other teachers.

The labor education of students includes one highly important factor that is not infrequently overlooked. Unfortunately, we do not always teach students the economic way of thinking. They should not just do their job but do it thoroughly, economically, and within as little time as possible. Economic education has been interestingly organized at a number of schools in Chernigov Oblast, where teachers in and out of the classroom conduct lively talks about the need to conserve raw and other materials and treat school property with care.

I enumerated only a few of the most effective, in my opinion, ways of combining learning with productive labor. We have many possibilities and shall continue to work in that direction.

For example, people often ask why teaching of civics been neglected. But this work has never been neglected. The very entrance of a schoolchild into school is the fulfillment of the civic duty of obtaining an education. The school provides instruction in general knowledge and principles of the Soviet state and law. The life and activities of V. I. Lenin and the revolutionary, combat traditions of the party and nation are used as the examples on which instruction is based. But a good knowledge of one's rights and duties still is not everything. To become a citizen, one has to exercise these rights and duties.

At the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was said that the party is perturbed by the delayed maturation of civic awareness and dependent, infantile attitude of certain young people. Undoubtedly, oversights by schools also have contributed to this. For a long time we have been regarding pedagogical guidance and student self-government as antipodes, although even N. K. Krupskaya and A. S. Makarenko used to say that they do not contradict one another. We should regard the promotion of autonomous activity by children as a continuation of the guidance exercised by teachers. In socially useful activities, whether learning, labor, folklore studies or tourism, the work should be organized and directed by the children themselves.

Student self-government and enhancing the role of Pioneer and Komsomol organizations should be the basis on which patriotic and internationalist education would be developed more effectively. Children should be trusted more, and more should be demanded of them as well. It is this that will contribute to the early maturation of the student as a citizen.

The new tasks require orienting teachers toward the modern approach to the education and upbringing of schoolchildren. The training of new teachers has to be extensively re-examined. Nowadays they should be more proactive as organizers of children's collectives.

We have often been debating the school of the future. I am wont to say that it is already "seated" on the student bench. At present, upon the initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee, which was approved and supported, the pedagogical team movement has been launched. Students attend schools and work the year round as Pioneer leaders, leaders of various student clubs, teacher aides, or mentors of "difficult" teenagers.

The new tasks also require refining the organization of the entire instructional and upbringing process, whose basis always was and remains the formation of the Marxist-Leninist outlook. From this ensues the need to imbue students with high moral qualities, a scientific materialist world outlook and the grasp of the basic patterns of development of nature and society.

The materialist outlook is created in the process of the entire school instruction. But some teachers respond differently to this indisputable axiom and generally refrain from engaging in atheistic upbringing, believing that knowledge in itself would make of students convinced atheists. The theory of "nonreligious" education is additionally strengthened by arguing that the less children know about religion the better.

The need for atheistic upbringing is primarily dictated by concern for the spiritual health of our children. It is important to form in them correct ideas of the surrounding world, of nature, of the laws of societal life--ideas free of religious illusions, prejudices and superstitions.

We are aware that the present-day believers are people who attended Soviet schools and completed eight or 10 grades. But the knowledge they acquired in these schools did not prevent them from preserving the faith in god with which they were inculcated in their families. What is the problem?

School curriculums are primarily geared toward the acquisition of knowledge. But that knowledge becomes conviction only if it is based on the socially useful activity of the schoolchildren themselves, on their own social experience. This also is why active forms of work are particularly important in atheistic upbringing. This refers to various study circles, clubs, and scientific conferences, that is, to forms of activity in which children themselves play the role of propagandists. A student should know how to assert his views. Unless he undergoes this experience, he will not be knowledgeable enough to withstand alien views.

Atheistic education cannot consist solely in illuminating aspects of the science of religion or criticizing religion, as otherwise it would become, as V. I. Lenin once said, "a naked atheistic sermon." It should be linked to other directions of ideological-upbringing work: moral, patriotic, interna-

tionalist, labor and aesthetic. The effectiveness of this interaction will by then depend on the manner in which teachers interpret atheism and succeed in organizing the upbringing.

A highly important condition for the correct education of children is the unity of requirements for both the family and the school. Either these two institutions act in unison and educate worthy citizens of our society or they follow different paths--and then the child will grow into a person with an unstable world outlook and morality.

Sociological studies have shown that more than 90 percent of believers were taught by their families. One can hardly forbear mentioning here A. S. Makarenko, who used to say that the main foundations of education are laid by age 5. I do not know whether all religious preachers read Makarenko, but it is a fact that they recommend to parents beginning the child's religious education in infancy. In this connection, the Baptist "initiators," for example, have special precepts [manuals]: "Talks with Children about the Bible," "The Upbringing of Young Offshoots," or "The Evangelic Family"--their own curriculum, as it were.

The children entering school from such families already are little believers. The foundations of the religious world outlook have already been laid in them.

This demands of the teacher considerable tact, good intentions and responsivity. He should bear in mind the lofty humanism of his profession, create a friendly attitude toward believing children and prevent their becoming surrounded by an atmosphere of alienation and illwill, and the more so of opprobrium, commands and humiliation.

Many instances could be cited of the gratifying results produced by enlisting the participation of believing children in school and Pioneer activities. Teachers are working competently in this field at many schools in the Ryazan, Voronezh, Chernovitsy, Omsk and other oblasts and republics.

In his work to convince children that atheism is not a radical denial of religion, to demonstrate its positive, creative and humanist nature, its faith in man and his potential, the teacher should explore contacts with believing parents. He has much to discuss with them, for they too are equally concerned about the education of their children, the manner in which they spend their leisure time, their friends, and whether they need assistance and support. It is important to demonstrate to believing parents that we are for them and not against them, that we want them to consider earthly matters and desire happiness here on earth.

We should enlist parents more broadly in civic activities--invite them more often to the school, ask their help in some matters, and work out and rectify some problems. The school is the child's second home, and parents should understand and sense this.

Another line of our work is the education of parents. At present, parent education courses are rendering a good account of themselves in the Orenburg, Rostov and Gorkiy oblasts. In the Ukraine, parent universities and lecture series are becoming widespread. We are about to try out other forms of parent education as well.

The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum has oriented all teacher collectives toward imbuing schoolchildren with love of labor, civic maturity and habits of independent evaluation of phenomena. We are now working to accomplish these tasks.

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1386

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NATIONAL

USSR OFFICIALS VISIT AZERBAIJAN ELECTORATES

Baybakov Visits Baku

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Feb 84 p 2

[Article: "For the Good of the Homeland and the People -- Meeting between N. K. Baybakov and the Voters"]

[Text] Representatives of worker collectives of the Baku Nizaminskiy election district, in a meeting with their candidate for deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Nikolay Konstantinovich Baybakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of USSR Gosplan, declared the absolute loyalty of Soviet people to the ideals of communism and their unanimous determination to devote all their efforts to carrying out the designs of the party which is confidently leading the country on a Leninist course. The meeting took place on 17 February in the club imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy.

Members of the presidium along with N. K. Baybakov, were comrades K. M. Bagirov, I. A. Mamedov, F. E. Musayev, G. N. Seidov, K. A. Khalilov, and Z. M. Yusifzade and deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers A. D. Lemberanskiy and A. N. Mutalibov.

G. S. Fataliyev, first secretary of the Nizaminskiy Rayon party committee, opened the meeting.

Those in attendance dedicated a minute of silence to the lucid memory of Yu. V. Andropov, an outstanding figure in the Communist Party and Soviet State.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee was elected as an honorary presidium.

A. M. Zarbaliyev, operator at the Novo-Bakinskiy Petroleum Refinery imeni Vladimir Ilich and winner of the State Prize of the Azerbaijan SSR, the proxy of the deputy candidate, told about N. K. Baybakov's life and called on the voters to give their votes to the candidates of the invincible bloc of communists and non-party members on the day of elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet.

D. A. Aliyev, leader of a Komsomol-youth brigade at the Baku Biscuit Factory and winner of the republic Prize of the Leninist Komsomol; A. K. Adilov, brigade leader in Construction Administration No. 23 of the Sotskul'tstroy [Sociocultural Construction] Trust; A. F. Yakovlev, engineer at the head plant of the Azerelektrosvet [Azerbaijan Electric Light] Association and veteran of the war and of labor; A. R. Sarkisova, batching worker at Baku Footwear Factory No. 2 and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR; B. B. Azakov, secretary of the Nizaminskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee; and others spoke at the meeting.

They spoke of the fact that during the election campaign the working people of Azerbaijan, like all the Soviet people, are drawing their ranks even more closely around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee and are expressing enthusiastic support for the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. While reporting the great successes of working people in the district in socialist competition to fulfill the plans and obligations of the fourth year and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, the speakers expressed unanimous approval of the decisions of the extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and gave their assurance that they will multiply their efforts in the nationwide struggle to continue improving the Soviet economy and culture and strengthening the defense potential of our country and that they will bring joy to their socialist Homeland with new achievements on the shock labor watch.

The working people of the republic, participants in the meeting observed, know very well what an enormous contribution N. K. Baybakov, who began his labor career in proletarian Baku, has made to the development of the petroleum industry of Azerbaijan and of the entire country. After giving high praise for the state and public activities of Comrade Baybakov, the voters addressed mandates to their candidate for deputy aimed at continued socioeconomic development of Nizaminskiy Rayon and improvement in the living conditions of the working people.

N. K. Baybakov, who was warmly welcomed by those in attendance, spoke at the meeting.

Our meeting, he said, is taking place at a time when the Soviet people and all the progressive people of the world are undergoing the profound experience of a grave and irreplaceable loss -- the departure from this life of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, outstanding figure of the Leninist Party and Soviet State, ardent patriot of the socialist Homeland, and tireless fighter for peace and for communism.

Our grief is great, but our confidence is unshaken that the Communist Party, armed with the clear and precise program of action worked out by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of its Central Committee, will continue in the future to persistently and purposefully follow the policy of allout intensification of production, acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and bolstering the level of organization and discipline and the policy of steadily improving the material and non-material standard of living of the people.

The peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State arouses unanimous support and enthusiastic approval from Soviet people. Soviet people do not want war; our ideal is a world without wars. The fraternal countries of socialism, the communist and worker parties, and all progressive humanity are with us in the struggle for a lasting peace.

Our people trust their native party unrestrictedly. And the party of communists holds this trust sacred, reaffirming with its every step that the happiness and welfare of the people are the supreme goal of its activity. The unity of the party and the people has been, is, and will be the most important source of our strength.

An extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 13 February. The Plenum emphasized that in these sorrowful days communists and the entire Soviet people are drawing their ranks even more closely around the Leninist Central Committee of the party and the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and are filled with determination to struggle without reservation to carry out the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the party.

The Plenum unanimously elected Comrade K. U. Chernenko as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Konstantin Ustinovich is well known to communists and Soviet people as an outstanding figure of the Communist Party and the Soviet State. He has a prominent place in working out major theoretical problems of refining developed socialism and in formulating an integrated conception of CPSU ideological activity over the long run. Konstantin Ustinovich takes a very active part in formulating our peace-loving foreign policy and in the work of the CPSU to bolster the unity and solidarity of the international communist and worker movement.

The statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K. U. Chernenko at the Plenum and the points and conclusions contained in it are a clear and precise program that directs each of us to active, creative labor on behalf of continued development of the economic and defense might of our great Homeland.

The Soviet people are approaching an important political event, Comrade Baybakov continued. Less than a month remains to the day when millions of our countrymen will go to the election precincts to carry out their lofty civil duty.

Almost five years have passed since the last elections. During all this time the multinational Soviet people, in close solidarity around the Leninist Communist Party and the Soviet Government have worked stubbornly and persistently to increase the economic might and multiply the scientific and cultural wealth of our Homeland. And we can say confidently that the political line worked out by the party is being consistently carried out; our country has become even richer and even stronger.

Our Leninist foreign policy, a policy of international peace and security which finds enthusiastic support in the hearts of Soviet people and of our friends abroad, is being followed consistently and firmly.

Important events have taken place in our life in recent years. The 26th CPSU Congress was held. The land of Soviets solemnly celebrated its 65th anniversary.

Guided by the decisions of the congress and subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee, our party is carrying out measures for planned and comprehensive refinement of developed socialism and further development of productive forces and production relations and all spheres of the life of society.

The working people of Azerbaijan come to these elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet inspired by the resolutions of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the ninth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The republic has made significant socioeconomic advances in the 11th Five-Year Plan under the leadership of the party organization of Azerbaijan, one of the militant detachments of the CPSU. And I cannot, Comrade Baybakov continued, fail to mention the great contributions to development of productive forces and culture in the republic made by Comrade G. A. Aliyev, who was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party for more than 13 years.

Comrade Baybakov expressed his profound gratitude and sincere thanks to all the working people of the Baku Nizaminskiy district who nominated him as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This lofty honor and great trust shown in me, he said, I attribute entirely to the Leninist Communist Party, which places the interests of our Soviet people above everything.

The Communist Party comes to the elections with a scientifically based, understandable political platform which is closely tied to all Soviet people. This program was clearly presented in the Statement of the CPSU Central Committee to all voters and citizens of the USSR. As before, our party is acting in these elections as part of a unified bloc with non-party members. This indestructible bloc vividly and convincingly reflects the unity of the party and the people and of all our nations and nationalities.

Continuing, Comrade Baybakov discussed in detail the vast achievements of the Land of Soviets in the time since the last elections. The economic potential of our Homeland has grown significantly. The national wealth of the country (without the value of land, forests, and materials in the earth's interior) was more than 3 trillion rubles at the start of 1984, and the largest part -- 1.4 trillion rubles -- was fixed productive capital. In just the years 1979-1983 the introduction of fixed capital in all sectors of the national economy was more than 670 billion rubles, which was 27 percent greater than in the preceding five years. In these years as much capital was introduced as the entire country had at the end of 1967.

During this time not only has the scale of our economic potential grown, but also there has been a qualitative improvement in the production and scientific-technical potential of the country and almost one-third of all fixed capital has been replaced by new capital that embodies contemporary scientific-technical advances.

An enormous program of capital construction has been carried out in the preceding five years; more than 1,000 new state industrial enterprises were launched. More than 40 thousand kilometers of trunk gas pipeline and more than 80 thousand kilometers of highways were built in 1979-1983, and construction of the Baikal-Amur Rail Mainline is being completed. By the end of 1984 the track is to be laid on the full length of this road, which is 3,400 kilometers long.

Special mention must be made of the ahead-of-schedule launching of the trunk gas pipeline from Urengoy through Pomary to Uzhgorod in 1983. The line is 4,500 kilometers, and its introduction was an outstanding victory for our workers, engineers and technicians, scientists, and the thousands of members of the collective of construction, gas, metallurgical, and machine building workers. Their labor upset the plans of the U.S. administration to disrupt construction of the gas pipeline and convincingly demonstrated to the entire world the increased technical level of our economy and the enormous capabilities of our country's production potential.

The productivity of product labor has risen. In 1983 alone this factor accounted for 88 percent of the growth in output in industry and all of the growth in output in agriculture and shipping volume in railroad transportation.

As a result of the launching of new production capacities and the rise in labor productivity, between 1979 and 1983 the country received industrial output worth 3.5 trillion rubles. This was 23 percent more than in the preceding five years.

The gas, chemical, and petrochemical industries, machine building, (in particular machine tool building), instrument making, and electronics as well as the microbiological and medical industries developed at a surpassing rate in these years. Production of electricity, extraction of petroleum and gas, and the production of synthetic and plastic materials and a number of important types of equipment rose thanks to the efforts of the party and the government. It should be specially emphasized here that the growth in public production and improvement in its efficiency were accomplished by taking a number of steps toward technical refinement of production based on the latest scientific and technical advances.

During this time period 18,000 specifically defined new types of industrial output were brought into production and series production was begun. At the same time almost 8,600 obsolete type of output were withdrawn from production.

In the past five years the Communist Party has taken major steps in the area of strengthening the material-technical base of the agroindustrial complex; more than 227 billion rubles of capital investment has been directed to development of this complex.

Despite unfavorable weather conditions, and nature truly has not pampered us, the average annual growth in gross agricultural output rose by 4.5 billion rubles compared to the corresponding period in earlier years. Production of

raw cotton, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk, eggs, wool, and other crop and livestock products rose.

A number of steps were taken in the last five years toward further development of transportation and communications. The volume of shipping rose, and in particular the share of pipeline transportation and electrified railroads in this freight turnover grew.

The party and the government also took a number of steps toward further conservation and economical use of material resources in all sectors of the national economy, and as a result raw and processed materials, fuel, electricity, and other objects of labor worth 16 billion rubles were saved during this time. This was enough capital to put more than 80 million square meters of housing into use.

The dynamic development of public production and the improvement in its efficiency made it possible to secure substantial growth in public well-being and more fully satisfy the material and nonmaterial needs of the population. In the last five-year period the volume of national income used for consumption and savings rose by 19 percent. In this time three-quarters of national income in our country was used for consumption, and if we consider expenditures for housing and sociocultural construction which are directly used for public well-being, the figure was four-fifths of national income.

Consumer goods production rises year after year. In 1979-1983 21 percent more consumer goods were produced than in the preceding five years.

We must note the stable, systematic growth in the real income of the Soviet people. Thus, the average monthly wages of workers and employees rose 14 percent in these five years, reaching 182 rubles in 1983. The labor payment to kolkhoz members grew even more rapidly and was 138 rubles last year, an increase of 26 percent.

From the figures cited it is apparent that the incomes of workers, employees, and peasants are steadily converging. It must be emphasized that benefits paid from public consumption funds significantly add to the family budget of Soviet people. Suffice it to say that in 1979-1983 these payments increased from 400 rubles per capita in 1978 to almost 500 rubles in 1983.

A vast list of specific steps to raise public well-being was carried out in this time. This would include raising the earnings of a number of categories of people employed in particular sectors of the national economy, a further improvement in pension support for workers and employees, an improvement in the everyday material conditions of invalids and veterans of the Great Patriotic War, intensified state concern for the younger generation, and many other things.

Our state shows constant concern for families with children. A system has been instituted where working women receive leave at partial pay to care for a child until it reaches the age of one and can receive unpaid leave until it is 18 months old. State subsidies to single mothers and other persons have been increased.

You know that our country is carrying out housing construction on a large scale. Despite the fact that about four-fifths of Soviet people today are living in separate apartments, this issue has been given and will continue to receive the most serious attention.

In 1979-1983 residential buildings with a total area of almost 530 million square meters were put into operation. Fifty million people moved into new places. During this time many schools, hospitals, walk-in clinics, movie theaters, clubs, houses of culture, and other sociocultural facilities were built.

The most important socioeconomic result of this period is that despite the deterioration of the international situation and certain difficulties in fulfilling our plans, the Soviet people under the leadership of the communist party were able in these years to maintain a high rate of economic development and provide the most important types of output for the country.

The steps being taken by the party Central Committee to establish a truly Leninist style in work and realism in evaluating achievements and to demand higher standards of personnel for unconditional performance of their duties and precise and unconditional fulfillment of assigned tasks arouse great satisfaction among all Soviet people.

Thanks to this, Comrade Baybakov emphasized, in 1983 positive changes were observed in development of the national economy. It was possible in a relatively short period of time to correct the situation in the main areas of socioeconomic development in the country, to increase the initiative and accountability of personnel, and to increase the creative activism of the masses of people.

The rate of economic growth rose, quality indicators improved somewhat, production of industrial and agricultural output increased, railroad transportation began to operate more consistently, and real personal income rose. The basic sectors of heavy industry progressed. The sectors that determine scientific-technical progress are developing steadily. In short, significant positive changes are taking place in practically every sphere of the national economy.

However, as the December 1983 Plenum of the Central Committee pointed out, the results achieved are just the beginning of a great job and should not give rise to complacency and self-content. We must keep up the pace, maintain our general orientation to practical solutions to problems, develop positive trends in raising efficiency more actively, and make them stable factors.

While calling the attention of the party and the people to this, the December Plenum particularly emphasized that it is very important to get a good start from the first days of the new year of 1984 and set our minds on further increasing the intensity of work, not discounting for the difficulties we face, which are many. After all, there are still significant shortcomings in many areas of the national economy and a great deal of work will have to be done to eliminate them.

Dwelling further on the great successes of the working people of Azerbaijan in the 11th Five-Year Plan, N. K. Baybakov was pleased to emphasize that the working people of the republic have a right to be proud that they made a worthy contribution to the achievements of our Homeland's national economy in the third year of the five-year plan. The party and the government praised these successes highly. For achieving excellent results in all-Union socialist competition and for successful fulfillment of the USSR State Plan of Economic and Social Development for 1983, the Azerbaijan SSR was awarded the challenge Red Banner of CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol.

Our common challenge today, Comrade Baybakov said further, is to consolidate the positive trends in development of economic sectors and give them a stable character in order to fulfill and overfulfill plan assignments and socialist obligations adopted by labor collectives for 1984.

The USSR State Plan of Economic and Social Development for 1984 is an important new phase in carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of the party Central Committee. The plan envisions further strengthening production and economic potential, growth in the well-being of the Soviet people, and an increase in the country's defense capability.

Fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments set for 1984 is very important to insure achievement of the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan and to create the necessary prerequisites for working out the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The 1984 plan puts major challenges before the working people of Azerbaijan. Machine building will continue to develop at a faster rate in the republic. The volume of machine building production is to increase by 9.9 percent.

Solving socioeconomic problems is closely linked to development of the agroindustrial complex, which exerts an enormous influence on the rate of development of the entire economy and on raising the standard of living of the republic population.

In this connection I would like to observe that state purchases of raw cotton, grapes, fruit, potatoes, tea, and eggs are outlined at levels higher than the five-year plan, while state purchases of other agricultural products are set at the level of the assignments of the five-year plan for this year.

In the area of capital construction in the republic the plan envisions increasing the incorporation of capital investment by 5.9 percent over last year, performing 4.7 percent more construction and installation work, and putting almost 15 percent more fixed capital into operation.

The fourth power unit at the Azerbaijan GRES will come on line. So will a plant to manufacture the support elements of permanent deep-water foundations, which will make it possible to significantly expand the area of offshore drilling of oil and gas wells in the Caspian Sea and ultimately to increase the extraction of these valuable types of raw materials and fuel.

It is a pleasure to observe that on the initiative of party, Soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs in the republic work has begun to mobilize the labor collectives of associations, enterprises, and construction sites to raise the efficiency and quality of work, further step up the intensification of public production, accelerate scientific-technical progress and the growth rate of labor productivity, make full use of existing production potential, use material, labor, and financial resources economically and rationally, and observe plan and labor discipline more rigorously.

There is no doubt that the working people of your republic, like all the Soviet people, will make the maximum effort to not only fulfill, but also overfulfill the plan assignments for 1984. This is even more important because the development of our economy is taking place within the context of a tense international situation which demands the greatest vigilance, endurance, and organization. Under these conditions conscientious, highly productive labor is becoming truly the patriotic duty of every working person and every collective. All Soviet people understand that the political steps and practical measures being taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to strengthen the defense capability of our Homeland and the security of it and its allies show the party's concern for the well-being of the people and for peace on earth.

Soviet people are people of peaceful labor. This is part of the very nature of socialist society. The very strength of our multinational socialist state lies in the fact that in it conscious, highly productive labor is the principal material and moral measure of participation in building the new society. This is one of the central program principles of the Communist Party.

The constructive labor of the Soviet people is reliably protected by the defensive might of the USSR and the peace-loving policy of the party and government. Our national economy and its management and planning are being consistently improved, and as a result the needs of the Soviet people are being more and more fully met.

The effectiveness of socialist people's rule is increasing and conditions are being increasingly achieved where the building of communism has more and more become, as Lenin dreamed, the true cause of all the people.

The election campaign that has unfolded broadly in our country offers exceptionally fine opportunities to intensify actual participation by every Soviet person in management of the country. At the same time it shows the entire world with great force that Soviet people, absolutely dedicated to the cause of October, to the cause of the party, are filled with determination to carry out the designs of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of its Central Committee.

We have every reason to be confident of our tomorrow, which we are bringing closer by our unselfish, purposeful labor. The monolithic unity of the party and the people and loyalty to the teaching of the great Lenin are a reliable guarantee of all our victories.

I take your decision to nominate me as your candidate for deputy to the next term of the USSR Supreme Soviet, N.P. Baybakov said in conclusion, as a sign of the greatest trust, expressed not only to me personally but above all to our Leninist party, the guiding force of our people.

For me, a member of the CPSU, it is not only an honor but also, I understand, a great responsibility. And if on 4 March I am elected your deputy, let me assure you that I will make every effort and apply all my knowledge and experience to justify your great trust. I will do everything possible to be your worthy representative in the highest body of state power.

(N.K. Baybakov's speech was heard with great attention and interrupted numerous times by prolonged applause.)

On the day before the meeting Comrade N.K. Baybakov, K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, and G.I. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, visited the Novo-Bakinskiy Petroleum Refinery imeni Vladimir Il'ich. Its collective is working smoothly, without breakdowns, and exceeds plan assignments every year. The visitors inspected the large ELOU-AVT primary petroleum refining installation. A. A. Mukimov, chief engineer of the enterprise, and the duty shift operator reported on fulfillment of the first quarter plan and told about steps being taken to increase the recovery of light petroleum products and improve the quality of output and about work to automate control of the installation.

Comrade Baybakov inquired about the training of highly skilled refinery personnel, their working conditions, and the developmental prospects of the enterprise, which is the sector leader in the republic. He made a number of comments on labor organization and improving the sophistication of production. In their turn, refinery workers expressed their wishes for improved work by associated enterprises which do not always deliver catalyst to the refinery on time, an increase in the volume of housing construction for enterprise personnel, and bolstering the material-technical facilities of the plant polyclinic.

N.K. Baybakov had a warm and sincere meeting with the collective of the enterprise in the assembly hall of the refinery. Workers and employees spoke one after another. They told about the collective's successes on shock watch for the five-year plan and reported that refinery workers had adopted a counter plan which envisions increasing labor productivity 1.5 percent more than the plan and reducing the prime cost of output by 0.5 percent below the planned figure. They noted that this will be accomplished by wider use of internal reserves.

N.S. Kozlov, fitter and secretary of the party organization of shop No 2, reported that the shop collective fulfilled its January plan ahead of schedule and produced more than 200,000 rubles worth of output beyond the assignment. He gave his assurance that this shock pace will be increased even further.

Speaking to those in attendance N.K. Baybakov emphasized that the working class of Baku is the reliable bulwark of the republic party organization in the struggle to fulfill five-year plans ahead of schedule, and it is an advocate of everything new and progressive. He enthusiastically thanked the refinery collective for nominating him as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and gave his assurance that he will spare no effort to carry out the wishes and mandates of his voters.

At the head enterprise of the Baku Krasnyy Oktyabr' Furniture Production Association, N.R. Shamilov, general director of the association, talked about the enterprise's prospects for development and introduced the visitors to new sets of furniture which the enterprise has begun to produce or is preparing to produce. The Lala and Mugan' lines and a number of bedroom and livingroom sets have won high praise.

Comrade Baybakov inquired about the possibility of increasing the production and expanding the assortment of furniture and noted the importance of improving the quality of consumer goods produced by every means. He inspected a domestic services complex, a vegetable store, a dining hall, and a tearoom and expressed his wish that the Domestic Services House which is under construction at the enterprise could be put into operation more quickly.

At N.K. Baybakov's meeting with the collective of the republic Gosplan, the problems of further raising the efficiency of public production and the quality of output produced, raising labor productivity, rational use of human, raw material, and processed resources, and development and introduction of new machinery and technology were discussed.

In Sabunchi N.K. Baybakov was the guest of the teachers and students of School No. 67, where he was a student.

In his travels N.K. Baybakov was accompanied by deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers A. D. Lemberanskiy and A.N. Mutalibov.

V.A. Medvedev Visits Salyany

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Feb 84 p 3

[Article: "Multiply Present Achievements -- Meeting of the Voters with V. A. Medvedev"]

[Text] The meeting held in the House of Culture of Sal'yanskiy Rayon between the voters of the Salyany election district and Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, candidate for deputy to the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, and head of the science and educational institutions department of the CPSU Central Committee, was a demonstration of the unity of the party and the people.

F.I. Aliyev, first secretary of the Sal'yanskiy Rayon party committee, opened the meeting.

The proxy of the deputy candidate, F. G. Guliyeva, a teacher at the Karakashlinskaya Community Secondary School in Sal'yanskiy Rayon, acquainted the audience with V. A. Medvedev's biography and called on the voters to give their votes unanimously to the representatives of the indestructible bloc of communists and non-party members on 4 March.

Pride in the great successes in economic and social development of the country, of the republic, and of the rayons included in the Salyany election district, achieved in the period since the last elections sounded in the statements by Z. M. Strel'tsova, brigade leader at the Krasnyy Partizan Sovkhoz in Dzhailabadskiy Rayon, T. N. Gyulyusheva, director of the Sabirabad City School, M. K. Muradov, a worker in the mobile mechanized column of Saatlinskiy Rayon, P. G. Agafonov, an electrician in the mobile mechanized column of Sal'yanskiy Rayon, and others. The speakers expressed profound gratitude to the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for their concern for working people. They also spoke about unsolved problems in production and in everyday life. The mandates which they gave to their deputy candidate included requests to promote construction of a motor vehicle bridge across the Araks River, to speed up the delayed construction of a sports complex for children, and to build a new maternity home in Sal'yanskiy Rayon and the House of Pioneers and the House of the Intelligentsia in Sabirabad.

V. A. Medvedev spoke to the voters. He expressed his sincere gratitude for the great trust shown in him. He noted with great satisfaction the contribution made by working people of the election district to fulfillment of the assignments of the five-year plan and the national Food Program and stressed the need to continue raising the yield of cotton, grain, and other crops and the productivity of livestock farming.

The attention of the Soviet people today, the deputy candidate said, is concentrated on the decisions of the December 1983 and February 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The ideas and goals of these Plenums continue and elaborate the points and conclusions of the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the Central Committee and the decisions of the 26th congress of our party. Taken together they constitute a unified political line that lays out precise ways to refine developed socialism in the current phase. Its distinguishing characteristics are realism, thorough analysis of economic and social processes, and comprehensive consideration of the rules that govern social progress.

The party line of improving socialist economic activity, raising the level of organization and practicality, strengthening state, labor, and plan discipline, and increasing personnel accountability is producing tangible results. The rate of economic development has increased and there has been an improvement in quality indicators in industry and, especially, in agriculture, which surpassed the 1978 level for total production volume, and that was the best year in recent times. The working people of Azerbaijan also made a contribution to last year's economic successes.

The most important thing now is not to lose the tempo and our intensive orientation toward the work. We must consolidate what has been achieved and strive constantly for more, actively developing the positive processes that have been

noted. It is precisely from this point of view that the party considers the principal problems of contemporary development.

The key challenge of the Soviet economy is to raise labor productivity. The challenge advanced by the party and universally supported of achieving a one percent above-plan increase in labor productivity and reducing the prime cost of output by an additional 0.5 percent is of enormous socioeconomic and political importance. Unconditional fulfillment of plan assignments and obligations assumed and conscientious, highly productive labor are the patriotic duty of every labor collective and every Soviet person.

Comrade Medvedev devoted considerable attention in his talk to issues of the development of science and public education. Our economy today, he said, is increasingly switching to the path of intensive development, and it is perfectly obvious that this cannot be accomplished without large-scale implementation of the latest scientific-technical advances in all sectors of the national economy. We have never before had such great scientific potential.

Azerbaijan has great capabilities in this respect. The republic has 85 scientific institutions, higher educational institutions, and enterprises which are participating in 57 all-Union scientific-technical programs that encompass the most important sectors of the national economy. In recent years scientists of the republic have carried out important pure and applied research in various fields of science. They have solved a number of problems related to further development of petroleum and gas extraction, petroleum refining, chemical, and electronics industry. Work is underway to improve high-strength and heat-resistant polymer protective anticorrosion coatings. While enlarging and refining scientific potential, it is extremely important to use it better in the interests of national economic development.

Since the time of the last elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, V. A. Medvedev continued, education and culture have developed further in the country. More than 106 million participate in some form of education; in other words, one of every two or three people is a student. Each year about 5 million young men and women receive secondary education, more than 2 million join the ranks of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education, and 2.6 million new skilled workers are trained by the vocational-technical education system. The system of preschool institutions has grown; 15.5 million children now attend them.

The draft document of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "Basic Directions of Reform of General Education and Vocational School" is being widely discussed throughout the country. This is one more vivid example of the true democracy of our system and of the CPSU's constant endeavor to rely on the collective experience of the masses and the wisdom of the people in deciding complex matters. The school question touches the interests of every family, every labor collective, and the entire Soviet people. Discussion of the school reform draft has coincided in time with the election campaign. This is also noteworthy. The party considers this document which has been submitted for national discussion to be a large and important part of its political platform for the election campaign.

Speaking further about the program for a fundamental improvement in political indoctrination work which was developed by the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the speaker especially singled out the question of international indoctrination of working people and developing the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country. In your republic, he said, you have established rich international traditions which were highly praised by V. I. Lenin many times. They were forged by the Bolsheviks and the heroic working class of Baku, multiplied during the years of building socialism, and significantly enriched in the phase of developed socialism. The republic Palace of Friendship among Peoples, which has been established in Baku, plays an important part in study, summarization, and propaganda for Leninist friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The Azerbaijan Communist Party carries on daily organizational and mass political work with due regard for the multinational composition of the population and gives concern and attention to the social, cultural, and language interests of all the nationalities who live in the republic. The party does everything possible to consolidate the internationalist atmosphere in labor collectives.

In conclusion, the deputy candidate gave his assurance that he will strive to justify the voters' trust and will dedicate all his effort, knowledge, and experience to carrying out party policy.

Deputy candidate for the USSR Supreme Soviet V. A. Medvedev also met with voters of Neftechalinskiy and Pushkinskiy rayons in the Neftechala Palace of Culture.

R. E. Mekhtiyev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, was present at the meetings.

On the day before the meetings V. A. Medvedev visited the Bashirabad Kolkhoz in Sal'yanskiy Rayon, a regional museum, and new construction sites. In Neftechala he visited a secondary school, a nursery school, and a rayon hospital and talked with voters.

Mayorets Visits Stepanakert

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Feb 84 p 3

[Article: "Creative Labor Is the Foundation of Our Successes -- Meeting of A. I. Mayorets with the Voters"]

[Text] The working people of the Stepanakert election district met with their candidate for deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Ivanovich Mayorets, nonvoting member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of electrical equipment industry, in the State Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gorky.

Z. M. Movsesyan, first secretary of the Stepanakert city committee of the party, opened the meeting.

A. S. Seyranyan, proxy of the deputy candidate and director of the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant, told about A. I. Mayorets' life and called on the

voters to unanimously give their votes to the candidates of the indestructible bloc of communists and non-party members.

Among those who spoke at the meeting were R. T. Petrosyan, a weaver at the Karshelko Combine imeni 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov, L. I. Ovcharenko, chief doctor of the oblast hospital, A. O. Alibabayan, leader of a brigade of grape workers at the Kommunizm Kolkhoz in Martuninskiy Rayon, S. V. Ayrapetyan, assembly worker at the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant, Z. S. Aliyev, teacher in School No 2 in the city of Shusha, and others. They spoke of the great political and labor enthusiasm in which preparations for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet are taking place and told of the production successes of labor collectives in the national struggle to fulfill the assignments of the current year and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The speakers expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government for their untiring activities directed to further increasing the economic and defensive might of the Soviet State and strengthening peace on earth and for the enormous attention and concern they have given to Soviet people.

On behalf of the voters, the speakers called on the deputy candidate with mandates related to further development of the industry and agriculture of the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast and improving the working and living conditions of the working people.

A. I. Mayorets spoke at the meeting. After thanking the voters for their great trust, he said that he relates it entirely to our native Communist Party and he gave his assurance that he will dedicate all his efforts to be worthy of this great honor while holding the position of deputy.

The December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the speaker said, wrote new chapters in the theory of scientific communism and the history of building communism. He emphasized that the Leninist party demonstrated once again its collective wisdom and ability to organize work for the long run, to identify the main thing in every historical phase, and to concentrate efforts on it.

As a result of the great organizational and political work done by the party and the intensive labor of our people, the rate of economic growth rose last year and the basic national economic indicators improved. Everything that the party does, it does on behalf of people and for people, to improve the material and nonmaterial standard of living of Soviet people.

Conscientious labor has always been honored among our people. The contemporary economy with its size and potential makes a strengthening of state, plan, and labor discipline an essential condition. The central point of socialist discipline is that every person works as hard as possible at his or her work position.

Taking up the enormous advances made by the USSR in the years that have passed since the last elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Mayorets emphasized that Soviet Azerbaijan is making a significant contribution to realizing the

historic decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee. During the current five-year plan the republic has achieved good results in both industry and agriculture, especially in raising the production of cotton, grapes, and vegetables. The industry of Soviet Azerbaijan today includes more than 100 sectors and 350 types of output which are exported to 80 countries of the world.

The republic produces electric motors and cable, light engineering and unique electrical sets of equipment, sources of light and various types of electric apparatus, transformers, and other complex electrical engineering equipment. The volume of production of electrical equipment industry is more than one-quarter of all machine building output in Azerbaijan. One of the leading collectives in the sector, the Baku Domestic Air Conditioner Plant, is known throughout the country. Among the enterprises which completed ahead of schedule their assignments for last year and for the first three years of the current five-year plan for rate of growth in total production volume and labor productivity were the Azerelektrosvet [Azerbaijan Electric Light] Association, the dry transformer plant, and others. The collective of the Azerelektromash [Azerbaijan Electrical Machine] Association was one of the first to respond to the call of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to strive in this year to surpass the plan for raising labor productivity and reducing the prime cost of output.

The working people of the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast are making a large contribution to the achievements of Soviet Azerbaijan. By introducing new machinery and technology, technical re-equipping of production, and introducing new capacities they increased fixed capital by 14 percent in the first three years of the current five-year plan and raised the return on capital by eight percent. In this same time the volume of industrial production rose 20 percent and labor productivity went up 11 percent.

In recent years a number of steps have been taken in the oblast to improve the structure of industry and the sectors that determine technical progress are developing at a rapid pace. An agricultural machine plant is under construction. It will produce 17 million rubles worth of output each year. The dairy combine is being expanded. The domestic services house in Stepanakert, an airport, administrative and domestic services for the electrical equipment plant and the furniture factory, and other industrial and social facilities have been put into operation.

At the last meeting with the voters, Comrade Mayorets said, I as a deputy was given the mandate to promote reconstruction of the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant and construction of a residential building for people working at this enterprise. I am happy to report, he said, that both of the mandates are being carried out. Reconstruction of the plant is being done on the basis of centralized capital investment and construction of a building with 32 apartments is being completed.

The plant will introduce 8,000 square meters of production area. In 1984-1985 the production of instruments and fixtures, as well as special industrial and non-standard equipment will increase 1.5 times. The enterprise collective must

also solve a number of social problems. In this year they must begin construction of a 48-apartment building, which should go into operation in 1985. In the longer run plans envision construction of a preventive medicine center and a nursery school-day care center for 280 children.

The achievements of the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast are convincing testimony to the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy.

In conclusion Comrade Mayorets gave his assurance that he will continue in the future to devote all his efforts and knowledge to being worthy of the great honor given to him.

B. S. Kevorkov, nonvoting members of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Oblast party committee, and G. V. Shcheglov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, attended the meeting.

On the same day A. I. Mayorets visited the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant and talked with working people there.

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NATIONAL

WEST'S VIEW OF RECENT CPSU NATIONAL POLICY REFUTED

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[Article by Yu. I. Igritskiy, candidate of historical sciences, under rubric "Against Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism": "Criticism of the Falsifications of the National Policy of the CPSU at the Contemporary Stage"]

[Text] The successful development of the multinational Soviet state, in which one sees the formation of a new historical community of people -- the Soviet people -- and the guaranteeing of truly equal rights for all the nations and nationalities that constitute that community, does not have any analogues in the history of mankind. Not a single one of the precommunist social formations succeeded in resolving the very acute ethnic and national contradictions that were typical of it. The achievements of the peoples of the USSR in all spheres of life, achievements which have become possible thanks to the consistent carrying out of the Leninist national policy by the CPSU and the Soviet state, indisputably attest to the fundamental advantages of socialism as a social system. "Directing its policy at the harmonious combination of the national and international interests," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, has pointed out, "the party creates those social conditions under which the flourishing, the complete development of every nation serve as the prerequisite for the upsurge and flourishing of our entire fraternal union"¹.

The complete progress of our country's union republics has been and continues to be one of the most important factors influencing the choice of the further path for social progress by the peoples of the developing countries. A sharp contrast with the dynamic development of the Soviet nations is provided by the situation in a number of the multinational capitalist countries, where the chauvinistic policy of discrimination against the national minorities leads to an increase in the national antagonisms and conflicts. Therefore it is not surprising that the discreditation of the national policy of the CPSU and the Soviet experience in the resolution of the national question, and the development of ways to exert a demoralizing ideological effect upon Soviet citizens of various nationalities are one of the chief trends in the ideological activities of anticommunism. That is precisely what Major-General W. Odom, the Pentagon's Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, had in mind when, in September 1982, he stated during the discussion by the U.S. Senate of

a law concerning the allocation of additional funds for so-called Sovietological research, "The national minorities in the USSR are one area of tremendous importance for new research programs"².

A typical feature of the works by bourgeois Sovietologists on problems of the national relations in our country is their ignoring of the fundamental differences in the methods and means of resolving the national question under capitalism and under socialism, their mechanical transferring of the contradictions in bourgeois society to socialist society. Imperialistic propaganda attempts to convince world public opinion that the national relations in the USSR are built on and develop on the same unequal basis that used to be typical of the very large colonial empires of the recent past. For that purpose they show in a distorted light the economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development of the nations and nationalities that form the USSR.

Anticommunist conceptions and myths that falsify the Leninist nationalist policy, its keynote principles, and practical implementation are convincingly unmasked in a number of works by Soviet scientists³. However, the task of combatting these conceptions and myths continues to be a vitally important one. The ideological subversion against real socialism during recent time has become obviously stronger; in addition, noticeable changes have occurred in the theoretical-ideological arsenal of the anticommunists. The social progress of the USSR, the buildup of the crisis phenomena in capitalist society, and the changing international situation force the ideologists to reconsider the traditional schemes and to make adjustments in them. We shall discuss below some of the most typical tendencies that have manifested themselves in recent years in the Sovietological literature on problems of the national policy of the CPSU and the development of national relations in our country.

* * *

For a long time the principal theme in imperialistic propaganda was the false statement to the effect that the national policy of the CPSU is directed at the acquisition and reinforcement of the material advantages by the Russians, at the use of the natural wealth and economic development of the union republics in the interests of the RSFSR. As long ago as the early 1970's the American Sovietologist of Baltic origin S. Vardis complained that "the economy of the non-Slavic republics has become a simple offshoot of the Russian trunk"⁴, and the former director of the British Center for the Study of Central Asia, J. Wheeler, made a statement about the existence in the Central Asian republics of "colonial administration"⁵. These statements falsified not only the obvious national-economic achievements and rise in the standard of living of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also the absolutely fundamental principles of their economic cooperation. In the USSR a single, nationwide plan provides for taking into consideration the peculiarities and needs of each region, "the most intelligent use of the natural and labor resources and climatic peculiarities of each republic, the most efficient inclusion of that potential into the nationwide potential"⁶, and that results in the greatest benefit not only for each nation, but also for the State as a whole.

While ignoring the natural laws underlying the development of socialist society, the bourgeois ideologists nevertheless are incapable of completely disdaining the economic achievements of the peoples of our country. Therefore during recent time conjectures about the infringement of the material interests of the Soviet union republics have been encountered less and less frequently in the bourgeois press. Even such vehement anticommunists as H. Seton-Watson, L. Shapiro, and B. Crosier, in a report for the governmental circles of Great Britain, were forced to admit that the RSFSR obtains no greater benefits from the economic development of the country as a whole than the other republics do⁷.

The bankruptcy of the ridiculous stories about "economic colonialism" in the USSR, however, does not mean that the Sovietologists have rejected their preconceived approach to the analysis of the national-economic aspects of the national policy of the Soviet state. While drawing a veil over the increasing role of the conscious, purposeful activity of people under socialism and the scientifically substantiated nature of the policy of the Communist Party, the bourgeois theoreticians assert that the inequality of the development of the nations and nationalities of the USSR was predetermined by laws that operate identically both in the capitalist society and in the socialist society. "Relatively backward regions inevitably lag behind during periods of rapid development"⁸ is the way that that idea is formulated by the Swedish sociologist Jan Dellenbrant. American Sovietologists D. Bahry and C. Nechemias are ready to admit the striving by the CPSU and the Soviet state to equalize the levels of economic development in the national republics, but they create for their readers the impression that the measures directed toward that have not yielded the desired result⁹. There also exists the frankly preconceived point of view that the purpose of the equalization of economic development is stated only on paper, but in reality the CPSU attaches "secondary importance"¹⁰ to it.

The conclusion concerning the insurmountability of the gap, or even the increase in that gap, in the levels of development of the economically advanced and backward regions, countries, and peoples, is a justified one only as it pertains to precommunist social formations. As for socialism, the progress of the peoples of the former borderland areas of tsarist Russia, for a number of which the level of economic development rose by hundreds (yes, hundreds!) of times as compared with the prerevolutionary period, completely refutes the attempts to apply this conclusion to the Soviet Union.

The equalization of the levels of economic development among the nations and nationalities of our country led to the replacement of the actual inequality that our country had inherited from the past and that was overcome in the course of the building of socialism. "From the first years of the Soviet authority, our economic and social policy was constructed in such a way to assure the most rapid raising of the former national borderlands of Russia to the level of development of its center," the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress state. "And that task was successfully resolved. A very important role was played here by the close cooperation among all the nations of our country, and primarily by the unselfish aid provided by the Russian nation"¹¹. It should be noted that it is precisely in the sphere of the economy that the

equalization of the levels occurred and is occurring most intensively, creating a foundation for the accelerated overcoming of the gap in social and cultural development¹². Such advantages of the socialist system as public ownership of the producer goods and the planned running of the economy, provide the opportunity for the CPSU to conduct a policy of combining the interests of the development of each nation and nationality with the interests of the all-union state as a whole. The high rates of buildup of the achievements of the union republics in all spheres are guaranteed largely thanks to the fact that there is carried out, through the USSR state budget, a redistribution of the national income with a consideration of the immediate and long-term interests of their development¹³.

The intensive economic and social development of each Soviet nation has been viewed and continues to be viewed by the CPSU as the accelerator of their complete rapprochement¹⁴. An important attribute of the process of rapprochement is provided by the overall tendencies of development of the social structure in the union republics. For example, during recent decades one has observed there a decrease in the share of the peasantry in the makeup of the entire population, and an increase in the ranks of the intellectual class, and especially the working class. It is typical that in those republics where the share of the workers in the social structure was less than the nationwide indicators, the increase in the number of persons constituting the working class proceeded at outstripping rates. Whereas for the USSR as a whole from 1940 through 1979 the ranks of the working class increased by 3.2 times, the increase was as follows in the various republics: Belorussia, 3.9; Georgia, 4.4; Latvia, 4.7; Uzbekistan, 5.7; Kazakhstan, 6.6; Kirghizia, 6.7; Tajikistan, 7.4; Armenia, 8.7; Lithuania, 8.8; and Moldavia, 18.6 times¹⁵.

The process of rapprochement of the nations in the USSR is currently one of the main objects of the "criticism" of bourgeois ideologists. Attempting to place that objective process in doubt, they use the conceptions that are widely disseminated in bourgeois sociology, in accordance with which nationalism represents some kind of supraclass phenomenon that determines social development in the twentieth century, while the contradictions among nationalities are supposedly unresolvable in all social systems¹⁶. Moreover, during recent time the bourgeois ideologists have had to reconsider some of their traditional views concerning the nature of nationalism. Whereas they used to think that the chief source of the antagonisms among nationalities is the economic dependence of some countries and peoples upon others, and the overcoming of the economic backwardness leads to the easing of those antagonisms, at the present time they advance the thesis in accordance with which social progress and modernization in all spheres of life, on the contrary, heat up and intensify the nationalistic moods.

The Marxist theory concerning the development of society is currently being opposed persistently by the bourgeois sociologists with the so-called theory of modernization, the general purpose of which lies in removing the class content from social processes and reducing them to the overcoming of economic, social, and cultural backwardness in the image and likeness of some kind of "Western industrial civilization." Among many of the vulnerable spots in the theory of "modernization," one that has been detected more and more frequently with the passage of time, becoming noticeable even for the adherents of that

theory, is the lack of conformity of the slogan of "getting equal with the West" to the increasing struggle waged by the developing countries for political and economic independence upon the largest capitalist countries¹⁶. The increase in the capitalist countries of the contradictions among nationalities and religions, and also of separatist movements that are developing more and more frequently into open conflicts (Ulster, the Country of the Basques in Spain, the French-speaking provinces of Canada, etc.) also contributed to the revision of the bourgeois conceptions. London University professor H. Seton-Watson even formulated a kind of universal "law of the ingratitude of colonies"; so long as the colonial and central authorities rule with an "iron hand," the empires and multinational states develop in a stable manner; but when they begin to do "good things" (Seton-Watson's terminology) and the living conditions of the subordinated peoples improve, nationalism becomes stronger and leads to political instability¹⁷.

And that is the formula, which is imbued with nostalgia for the bygone days of colonial dominance, that the Western Sovietologists are attempting to apply also to real socialism. In the bourgeois literature there have appeared assertions to the effect that the successful socioeconomic development of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR encourages the nationalistic ferment and regionalistic tendencies¹⁸. "Although economic development and modernization have broadly affected all the Soviet nations and nationalities, as a result the old ethnic conflicts have become intensified, rather than changing"¹⁹ states the famous Canadian researcher T. Rakowska-Harmstone.

The bourgeois ideologists ignore the fact that the improvement of the living conditions intensifies the contradictions among nationalities only when it is paid for at the price of infringement upon independence and sovereignty, when it shackles the spiritual and cultural development of peoples. In the capitalist practice of relations among the dominant and the oppressed nations there is actually a large number of such examples. But the essence of the problem consists in the fact that the societies in which there are class antagonisms are completely incapable of resolving the national question, since it is impossible to overcome the contradictions among nationalities while preserving social-class contradictions. As E. A. Bagramov justifiably emphasizes, the concepts "social consolidation of society," "social unity," and the "cooperation among peoples" are incompatible with the capitalist system, although bourgeois propaganda attempts in every way to give the opposite impression²⁰. It is only the elimination of social oppression that creates the prerequisites for eliminating national inequality and for justly resolving the national question.

The CPSU has consistently implemented and continues to implement the Leninist national policy, as it has done for more than six decades. Such factors as the community of economic life, at the basis of which lie the mature socialist system of the economy and the creation of a single national-economic complex, the social and class homogeneity of Soviet society and the formation of an identical social structure for all nations and nationalities, the formation of the Soviet way of life, which is linked with the confirmation of the new, socialist, internationalistic consciousness, have become the distinguishing characteristics of the Soviet people -- the new historic community²¹. It

is indicative that many bourgeois researches use the definition "Soviet people," thus actually acknowledging the sociopolitical unity of the multinational population in our country. However, when they encounter the need to evaluate the dialectical interrelationship between that which is nationwide and that which is nationally specific in Soviet society, they disdain the former and artificially inflate the latter.

* * *

The complete bankruptcy of the ridiculous statements concerning the economic inequality of the peoples of the USSR has encouraged bourgeois Sovietologists to seek out certain other, noneconomic roots for the imaginary aggravation of the national differences under socialism. A new impetus was given to the age-old thesis of "Russification" and the preservation of "Great Russian chauvinism" in the USSR. In this thesis the anticommunists emphasize in every way the political and cultural aspects. Bourgeois historiography contains frequent assertions about the "rebirth of Russian ethnocentrism"²², the "monopoly of the Great Russians" in party and state agencies, the "constant official pressure with the purpose of forcing Russian culture on non-Russians"²³. Apparently with the purpose of raising the "theoretical" level of the research conducted by Sovietologists and giving that research a more scientific look, the book "Contemporary Soviet Society: Sociological Perspectives" that was printed not too long ago in the United States isolates three stages in the carrying out of the national policy of the CPSU. The first, according to that book, represents "Sovietization" -- the broad process of the single socioeconomic and ideological-political development of the union and national republics along the path of socialism. At the second stage, which is called "Russianization," there occurs, according to the authors, the dissemination and implanting of the Russian language and culture, to the detriment of the languages and spiritual values of the other nations. Finally, at the third stage, there is achieved "Russification," namely, the conversion of the citizens in the "national minorities" into Russians on the basis of their entire psychology, their complete assimilation²⁴. This gradation is only another sophisticated version of the falsification of the national policy of the CPSU. Its authors were forced to admit that, in essence, they do not have at their disposal any facts that attest to "Russification" in the USSR. It is precisely that situation that encouraged them to attempt to introduce into Sovietology a new concept, which has not yet had sufficient time to discredit itself -- the concept of "Russianization." However, the American Sovietologists (for understandable reasons) were not able to cite any reliable data concerning the decline of languages and cultures of the non-Russian peoples in our country.

The striving by the bourgeois researchers to disunite the socioeconomic and ideological-political development of the peoples of our country, to discover in the theoretical and practical activities of the CPSU various signs of Great Russian chauvinism, attests to the complete failure to understand the class nature of Soviet society and the party as its guiding force. The party's program and policy in all its sections and directions represents a single whole. It binds into one the tasks of the economic, social, political, and cultural development of all the national-state and administrative units, all the nations and nationalities that form the USSR.

Based upon the objective natural laws that underlie socialism, as the first phase of the communist social formation, the national policy of the CPSU, in its turn, contributes to their more complete manifestation. That policy introduces a regulating, planned principle into the growth and reinforcement of truly equal relations and fraternal mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples of the USSR, a principle that facilitates the action of the social laws. Despite the assertions of the anticommunists concerning the dominant position of the Russians in the political system of developed socialism, the CPSU proceeds from the assumption that "all the nations have the right to proper representation in their party and state agencies"²⁵. The predominance of the Russians in the party (59.8 percent as of 1 January 1982) as compared with their number in the population of the USSR (52.4 percent according to the 1979 census) does not provide any justifications for speaking about "discrimination" against other peoples. For certain of them, the same picture is typical. We might compare the corresponding indicators, for example, for Belorussians (3.8 and 3.4 percent) and Georgians (1.7 and 1.3 percent)²⁶.

In addition, the dynamics of the growth of the CPSU ranks in national cross-section during the postwar period indicates that the increase in representation in the party for many nations proceeded at higher rates than for the Russians. For example, from 1946 through 1983 the number of Russians in the party increased by 2.8 times, whereas the number of Kazakhs increased by 3.8 times; Ukrainians, 4.3 times; Kirghiz, 5; Tajiks, 5.1; Azerbaijani, 5.5; Turkmens, 5.6; Belorussians, 5.9; Uzbeks, 6.9; Estonians, 7.3; Latvians, 8.6; and Moldavians and Lithuanians, respectively, 34 and 36 times²⁷.

The same tendency of the equal involvement of all the peoples of the USSR in the resolution of the problems that are confronting society is reflected in the national makeup of the state agencies. In the Supreme Soviets of the union republics, more than 70 percent are representatives of non-Russian minorities. The local Soviets are even more multinational in makeup, since they include representation not only of the more or less large-scale national groups, but also of the small-sized national and ethnic groups. The representation of almost all the non-Russian peoples in the local Soviets is higher than their share in the country's population. The representation of Russians among the deputies to the local Soviets, however, is 45.3 percent, that is, 7.1 percent less than in the country's population²⁸.

Other ridiculous statements that have nothing in common with reality are the statements made by Sovietologists concerning the infringement of the rights and interests of the non-Russian peoples of our country in the area of culture. The dynamics of the level of education from 1970 through 1982 indicate that the increase in the number of persons having higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education per thousand of persons aged 10 years or more was, in the RSFSR, exactly the same as it was for the USSR as a whole. At the same time a number of other republics in 1982 considerably outstripped the RSFSR and the average nationwide level with regard to this indicator. For example, in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, respectively 700, 730, and 738 persons per thousand had higher and second education (compared with 676 in the RSFSR)²⁹. With regard to the number of scientific workers in terms of percentage to the total size of the nationality, Russian, Azerbaijani, Georgians, and Armenians are in approximately the identical situation³⁰.

In the socialist society, where the workers of all nations and nationalities develop the previously formed democratic features and the new, socialist features of their own cultures, there is an intensive spiritual mutual enrichment and expansion of fraternal cultural cooperation. Socialist relations among nationalities form and become stronger constantly at all levels of collective and personal, educational and labor, material and spiritual communication, and this process is not only of a bilateral, but also a multilateral nature. For example, in 1960-1975, 48 instructors from the Lithuanian State Conservatory completed postgraduate work in the leading higher educational institutions of other republics; and in the educational institutions of Lithuania itself, musical specialties, the graphic arts, and painting were taught to representatives of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Tajikistan, and other republics³¹. Every year the higher educational institutions of Moldavia instruct 450-470 students from other fraternal republics, and Moldavia sends as "delegates" to those republics for training approximately 800 representatives of Moldavian youth³².

Despite the opinion of the Western Sovietologists, the intensification of the communication among Soviet citizens of different nationalities by no means leads to the stifling of the national cultural and ethnic traditions. Concrete sociological research studies have ascertained that, for example, the Uzbek intellectual class, while manifesting a large amount of interest in the culture of the Russian and other Soviet (as well as foreign) peoples, and expanding their own spiritual and esthetic horizon, at the same time preserve their love for their national culture. Not only among the rural population in Uzbekistan, but also among the urban population, Uzbek folk forms of spiritual culture, especially music and dance, are extremely popular. Meanwhile, approximately 30 percent of the Uzbeks work in collectives where no less than one-half of the workers are representatives of other nationalities³³.

A typical feature of the works produced by Sovietologists in recent years is the intensified attention devoted to the linguistic situation in the USSR, and their speculations about the increase in the rate to which the peoples in our country communicate in Russian. The anticommunists give every conceivable role to the Russian language in their search for nonexistent contradictions among the nationalities in Soviet society: the role as "political cement" in the multilingual state³⁴, as the "chief tool of integration"³⁵, and as a "means of assimilation"³⁶. West German Sovietologist G. Simon even detects in the Soviet Union "aggressive methods" of a linguistic policy³⁷, but he, naturally, is incapable of explaining in an coherent manner what specifically those methods are. In the course of a discussion devoted to the linguistic situation in the USSR, which was conducted on the pages of the "International Journal of the Sociology of Language" (published in The Hague), Austrian researcher A. Kreindler, in the article "The Changing Status of Russian in the Soviet Union," ascribed to the CPSU the attempt to make the Russian language "the chief instrument for forging supernational identity"³⁸. In order to substantiate this false concept, she states, referring to the formation of a new historic community in the USSR, that the party has rejected the Leninist idea of educating the masses in the languages of the non-Russian peoples³⁹.

All the previously cited views expressed by the bourgeois Sovietologists are distinguished by their extreme prejudice. The "political cement" for the unity of the peoples of the USSR has been, and still is, on the one hand, the union of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the Communist Party and, on the other hand, the socialist federal state structure, which is based on principles of the equality of nations and the community of goals, a structure that is sanctified by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Wherever there are no socioeconomic or ideological-political prerequisites for unity among nationalities, language in and of itself, no matter how broadly it may be disseminated, can never play the role of a cementing factor. The broad introduction of the English and French languages in countries that were under the dominion of England and France did not prevent the collapse of the two largest colonial empires of most recent history. The common mastery of a single language in a multinational state is also incapable of forging a "supernational identity," if the policy of the dominant nation is directed at the preservation of feuds among the nationalities.

As for the CPSU, it never posed the task of creating some kind of "supernation" in which all the national differences, including the linguistic ones, would dissolve. The formation of a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- and the rapprochement of nations by no means are identical to that which the Sovietologists put into the concept of "supernational identity." The party proceeds from the view that, in the process of the rapprochement, "the economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is accompanied inevitably by the rise in their national self-awareness"⁴⁰. Moreover, the CPSU is well aware that the national differences will be preserved for a much longer period of time than the class differences⁴¹.

The anticommunists engage in direct juggling of the facts when they assert that the increase in the number of Russian-speaking representatives of the non-Russian peoples attests to the "assimilational" or "Russificational" tendencies in the national policy of the CPSU. One might recall that, as long ago as a resolution of the 12th RKP(b) Congress, there was an indication of the need to promulgate special laws guaranteeing the use of the native language "in all state agencies and in all institutions that serve the local population of a different nationality and serve national minorities," and those laws were aimed at punishing "with all revolutionary severity all the violators of national rights"⁴².

For all this, by virtue of reasons and conditions that developed objectively, it is precisely the Russian language that has become that communicative pivot without which the fruitful, mutually advantageous development and cooperation among the peoples populating the USSR would simply be impossible⁴³. The Russian language also plays an important role (once again, by virtue of objective reasons) in the formation of socialist culture by the joint efforts of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union⁴⁴. "... Poor knowledge of the Russian language limits a person's access to the riches of international culture, and narrows the circle of his activity and communication"⁴⁵, is the statement that is emphasized in the documents of the June 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. With complete justification First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia E. A. Shevarnadze explains the need to study the Russian language by stating

that Russian is "the language of the brotherhood of all the peoples of the USSR, the language of October, the language of Lenin"⁴⁶.

The voluntary study and use of the Russian language in everyday life, the genuine "linguistic internationalism" that has developed in our country, at the basis of which lies the thorough respect for the linguistic traditions of all nations and nationalities, serve as a forceful argument against the conjectures concerning the forceful imposition of the Russian language and the crowding out of other languages⁴⁷. The bourgeois researchers themselves admit that, in the age of scientific-technical progress, a knowledge of Russian contributes to the more rapid development of the union republics, and, conversely, the publication of important scientific works only in the languages of the individual peoples of the USSR retards the dissemination of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution]⁴⁸.

The vehement anticommunists ascribe "Russificational" and chauvinistic strivings not only to the CPSU, but also to the Russian nation as a whole⁴⁹. Such concoctions do not withstand verification by the facts. After the October Revolution the national borderlands of Russia were able to eliminate their centuries-old backwardness only with the planned assistance provided by a "center" that was basically Russian in its national identity. Moreover, the party devoted special attention to assuring that, during the process of the formation of relations that were new in content between the Russian nation and non-Russians, there was not the slightest infringement of the national dignity of the latter. "On the part of the workers of those nations which were the oppressors under capitalism, it is necessary to have special caution with respect to the national sense of the oppressed nations," V. I. Lenin emphasized, and he went on to add that it was necessary to "promote not only actual equal rights, but also to develop the language and literature of the working masses of the previously oppressed nations, in order to eliminate all traces of the distrust and alienation that had been inherited from the era of capitalism"⁵⁰. In carrying out that instruction, the workers in the industrial centers of the country, throughout the entire period of the building of socialism, rendered fraternal assistance to the national borderlands in the creation of a modern economy, the development of enlightenment, education, and culture. That assistance was not of a "Kulturtraeger" nature, or a philanthropic nature, but instead embodied in practice the principles of socialist internationalism, and was an important political act that was aimed at drawing all the peoples of the USSR into the building of a new society⁵¹.

During the period of developed socialism, the processes of the internationalization of the awareness and psychology of the representatives of all the peoples of our country take on broader and broader scale. A powerful impetus for these processes is joint labor activity. For a long time, multinational labor collectives have been an inseparable attribute of the Soviet socialist way of life. For example, at the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] the workers making up the All-Union Komsomol Shock Detachment imeni 26th VLKSM Congress are representatives of 39 union republics, oblasts, krais, and autonomous republics of the RSFSR⁵². While they are Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, etc., they (like young people throughout the country) simultaneously recognize themselves as representatives of the entire Soviet people.

By ascribing to the CPSU nonexistent Great Russian chauvinism, the anti-communists have the purpose not only of discrediting the cornerstone principles of its national policy, but also of giving verisimilitude to another equally false statement -- the one concerning the increase in nationalistic moods and the concealed "dissatisfaction" of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. In recent times this ridiculous statement has been tied more and more closely with the speculations concerning the problems of religion. The bourgeois Sovietologists manifest special interest in the status of Islam in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the Caucasus. And here too one can notice certain changes in the posing of the question.

Whereas as long ago as 1950-1960 the imperialistic ideologists applied their main efforts to fencing off the Muslim peoples of Asia and Africa from the revolutionizing effect of the achievements of the republics of the Soviet East, at the present time they have begun to hope that the revival of Islamic radicalism beyond the confines of our country will promote the erosion of socialist internationalism in the Soviet Union. The question of the influence of the so-called "Islamic renaissance" upon the spiritual life of a number of peoples in the USSR, which are called in the Western press "Soviet Muslims," is currently being given "strategic importance"⁵³ in the bourgeois ideology. In a directive article about the future of Eastern studies in Great Britain, the emphasis is definitely placed on the need to study religion "in the broader perspective" of the social changes in the world⁵⁴.

It should be emphasized that the predominant number of bourgeois ideologists refrain, for the time being, from making categorical conclusions with respect to the prospects for the intensification of the positions of Islam in the USSR. Moreover, some of them admit that the direct influence exerted by Islamic radicalism upon the "Soviet Muslims" remains insignificant⁵⁵. The unprejudiced scientists from the developing countries write even more clearly: "Islam no longer determines the daily life of the Muslims in the Soviet Union"⁵⁶. Nevertheless the anticommunists are definitely counting on the further development of conservative trends in the Muslim religion in the Middle and Near East, hoping that they will help them to incite nationalistic moods among the peoples in a number of union and autonomous republics of our country. For that purpose, attempts are being made to extol theories that were refuted by life long ago -- the theories of the bourgeois nationalists, primarily the pan-Turkists, as well as the national deviationists. The well-known French Sovietologist A. Bennigsen, in a book written with coauthor, American historian E. Wimbush, persistently expresses the idea of the viability of the ideas of "Muslim national communism" and expresses the hope that the religious and ethnic Muslim solidarity will take the upper hand over socialist internationalism⁵⁷.

It is clear that, in this instance, we are dealing with the attempts at the ideological support of far-reaching plans by the most reactionary circles of world imperialism which are dreaming of using any means to cause the erosion of the ideological-political unity of the Soviet people. However, Bennigsen and those who think the way he does are only doing wishful thinking. The preservation of the religiosity and certain Muslim traditions among a certain part of the population of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus, and the Volga area is evaluated by them as the manifestation of

nationalism and failure to accept the Soviet way of life. Moreover, in the most recent works of the same Bennigsen and M. Broxup, as well as American Sovietologist M. Rywkin, the authors establish a kind of "homo islamicus," who is supposed to prevail over "homo sovieticus," that is, over the person who is the carrier of the values of socialist society⁵⁸.

What we have here is, again, the failure to understand the dialectical tie between the national and the international in Soviet society, the striving to judge the peoples of the USSR on the basis of the processes and phenomena in the nonsocialist world. Judged on the basis of their life and psychology, the Soviet Muslims who exist in real life -- rather than in the imagination of the anticommunists -- differ considerably both from their fathers and grandfathers, and from foreign Muslims. They are full-fledged citizens of the Soviet state, persons whose psychology could not be influenced by the socialist way of life, communication with nonbelievers, and work in our modern labor collectives. While preserving their adherence to certain traditions and beliefs of Islam, they simultaneously become patriots of their own socialist Homeland. "Like the rest of the people in my nation, I have the right to free choice," says the chairman of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Mufti Ziyautdin-khan ibn Ishan Babakhan. "'As a spiritual mentor I have the right to communicate with believers and to tell them everything that is contained in the Koran.'" Having established the fact of the freedom of conscience in the USSR, the mufti notes an important feature in the way of life of the believers in the Soviet East. "In our country," he emphasizes, "there are many nationalities and they live in harmony like a single large family. They respect and understand one another. We see that our country is exerting large efforts to protect the peace and we speak out on the international scene in favor of that just cause. Because of all of this I love my country, and because of all of this I am a patriot of the Soviet Union"⁵⁹.

Thus, social practice and the norms of communal life inevitably correct the conduct of the believers. The divergence between the religious ideals and the concrete actions of the believers is especially typical of socialist society, where, together with the rest of the nation, they take part in the building of a new society⁶⁰.

But the fact of the matter consists not only in that those who profess Islam in the USSR differ considerably in their mental attitude from the Muslims abroad. The chief thing is that, despite the assertions by the bourgeois Sovietologists, the sphere of influence of the faith itself has been fundamentally curtailed and the present-day generations of the peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Volga area, and the Caucasus are growing up free of it. What influence by Islamic radicalism upon these peoples can be discussed under conditions when the most archaic and reactionary institutions of the shariat were abolished as long ago as the first post-October decade? Whereas, for example, in Uzbek SSR in 1922 there were 220 shariat courts, by 1927 there were only nine, and by the end of 1928 on the entire territory of Central Asia there did not remain a single shariat court⁶¹. Sociological surveys conducted in Karakalpak ASSR in the late 1970's indicated that, among the youth, believers constitute only 1.1 percent⁶². A number of traditions and customs of the prerevolutionary Muslim peoples have currently

lost their clearly expressed religious purposefulness, and others have lost their previous popularity. For example, the traditional cotton-harvesting holiday in Turkmenia ("pakhta bayrami") has been marked for almost 20 years as a republic-wide holiday. It is celebrated by Soviet and public organizations on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in rayon centers, and then in Ashkhabad also; at such time, the advanced workers in production are honored, athletes compete, and amateur singing and dancing groups perform. When, in December 1966, "pakhta bayrami" coincided with the religious holiday of "uraza-bayram," half as many people took part in the latter as previously, and many Turkmens preferred to participate in the nonreligious ceremonies⁶³.

The dying out of the centuries-old prejudices that formed on the soil of Islam and the shariat is attested to by the development of marriages between people of different nationalities -- a previously extremely rare phenomenon, and something with respect to Muslims and non-Muslim peoples also quite exceptional. For example, in Kazakhstan, where, prior to the revolution, the population was multinational, the religious and nationalistic preconceptions were an insurmountable barrier for the arising of Kazakh-Russian families. But by the beginning of the 1970's every fourth family in the cities and every sixth family in the rural localities of Kazakhstan consisted of people of different nationalities⁶⁴. In the major cities of the union republics the percentage of marriages of mixed nationalities is the greatest: in Baku, in the mid-1970's, it was 24 percent⁶⁵. For the USSR as a whole, from 1959 through 1979, the share of ethnically mixed families rose from 10.2 to 15 percent⁶⁶. This is the consequence of the intensity and regularity of the direct communication among the representatives of various nationalities in the educational and production processes, public activities, and everyday life.

It is not the Soviet way of life in the once Muslim republics of our country that is experiencing erosion, giving way to "renascent" Islam, as some bourgeois ideologists assume, but, on the contrary, the Islam religion has been forced to borrow from socialism ideas without which it is becoming increasingly difficult for Islam to find a response even among a limited number of believers. These ideas include internationalism, a principle which, on the basis of its class content and practical implementation, is entirely socialistic but also, it now becomes clear, is currently (at least formally) finding a place in Islam sermons. "Every Muslim in the world is a confirmed internationalist in the modern understanding of that word," is the statement that is now being made by Islamic theologians in the USSR⁶⁷. Of course, in the Muslim religion there can be no discussion of any elements of socialist internationalism, but what is telling is the very use of the term by the adherents of Islam.

The political plans of imperialism can be discerned clearly in certain research by bourgeois Sovietologists in the ethnic area. The imperialistic circles are especially interested in the question of the ethnic identity of the peoples on both sides of the southern borders of the USSR. By way of an example one can cite the collection of articles "Soviet Asian Ethnic Frontiers," which was published in the United States in 1979 on the basis of materials pertaining to a scientific conference that had been organized by the

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, jointly with the U.S. State Department. The goals of applied politics which were purposed by that conference were frankly expressed by the editors of the collection in the foreword, "Is there any evidence of the existence within the ethnic group being studied (that is, in the USSR) of the attempt to change its status quo and to put the country in which it lives in conflict with another? By what means do direct contacts across the border create difficulties or favorable opportunities for the country in which they live?"⁶⁸

Thus, in addition to reliance upon the increase in the contradictions among nationalities within the Soviet Union, the anticommunists are attempting to incite in the non-Russian peoples of the USSR a sense of religious and ethnic community with the peoples of adjacent countries which could help to prevail over socialist internationalism. Such plans are in vain, since the premises upon which they are based are fundamentally false. The deepening of internationalization, interethnic integration on the basis of uniform features in the way of life, are the chief trends in the development of multinational Soviet society⁶⁹. The stability of these trends is determined by the fact that they are of a class, socioeconomic nature; their historical purpose consists in guaranteeing the favorable conditions for the development of the productive forces of all the peoples of the USSR⁷⁰.

The flourishing of the socialist nations and their drawing closer together represent, in essence, two sides of one and the same process, which are in close dialectical unity and interrelationship. Whatever tendencies predominate in a particular region of the country -- national-consolidational or national-integrational -- they never contradict one another, and therein lies the fundamental difference in the development of the nations under socialism⁷¹. "For the first time in history," Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "the multinational makeup of a country has been transformed from a source of its weakness into a source of strength and prosperity"⁷².

Very important factors in the reinforcement of the solidarity of the Soviet nation are the fraternal union of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, their joint labor, the successive drawing together and mutual enrichment of the national cultures⁷³. These objectively influenced processes cannot be lessened by the anticommunists, or concealed behind the screen of misinformation. The party directs the Soviet press toward the intensification of coordinated counterpropaganda activity, toward the revelation of the ideological subversion being carried out by imperialism, and its anti-Soviet and anticommunist intrigues⁷⁴. The keeping of an attentive watch on the new methods of discrediting the national policy of the CPSU which are being used by the bourgeois ideologists, the prompt subjecting of them to critical analysis -- that is the constantly vital task of Soviet researchers.

FOOTNOTES

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14. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 57.
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29. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR. 1922-1982," p 44
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NATIONAL

ETHNIC GERMANS FORM PART OF SOVIET UNITED FAMILY

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 29, 19 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by V. Eler, correspondent for the newspaper NEUES LEBEN, written for ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: "Equals Among Equals; the Life of Ethnic Germans in the USSR"]

[Text] Certain bourgeois newspapers and magazines, including some in the FRG, various "spokesmen" and their yes-men have up until now been trying to foist on the world community the notion that not all nationalities enjoy the same rights and freedoms in the USSR. The "humiliated and insulted" include Soviet citizens who are ethnic Germans, who are allegedly not allowed to participate in the management of industry, the leadership of society, the discussion and formulation of statewide plans and decisions, socio-cultural issues, etc., etc.

However, we will leave all of this on the consciences of those who are devoting all their efforts to distort Soviet reality and will describe instead how these ethnic German citizens live, study and work within the united family of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

Today ethnic German citizens live and work in many areas of our immense fatherland. According to data from the 1979 census there are, for instance, 900,000 Soviet Germans residing in the Kazakh SSR, with significant numbers of them living in the Altay Kray (125,000), in the Omsk Oblast (121,000), in the Krasnoyarsk Kray (55,000) and the Novosibirsk Oblast (65,000). A total of about 2 million ethnic Germans are living as citizens within the Soviet Union.

The CPSU and the Soviet Government are consistently striving to achieve a situation in which every Soviet worker feels himself a true master of his country and can exert an active influence on the formation of state policy. In its most pragmatic form, this participation is expressed in the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies. A total of 17,600 ethnic German citizens are deputies in these Soviets of People's Deputies. Natalia Gellert, a tractor driver from the sovkhos imeni Amangel'da in the Tselinograd Oblast is a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Lidiya Krets, a milker from the kolkhoz imeni 22nd Party Congress in the Altay Kray has been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Many people have been chosen as deputies

to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics, the oblast, rayon and local Soviets of People's Deputies. A large role in the social life of the country is played by the 72,500 Germans who are members of the CPSU, the 251,000 who are members of the Komsomol, and the many thousands of others who are members of profsoyuzes and other social organizations.

The kolkhoz "30 Years of the Kazakh SSR" has become famous throughout the country. It is directed by Yakov Gering, Hero of Socialist Labor, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, and candidate in agricultural sciences. There are tightly run operations headed by Soviet Germans in Siberia and the Urals, in Altay and in Central Asia. Many Soviet Germans have become prominent specialists in industry, construction, transportation, public eating establishments, sport, science and culture. For 35 years now the Moscow Automobile and Tractor Combine No 1 has been headed by Hero of Socialist Labor and Mossovet deputy G. L. Krauz. A worldwide reputation has been earned by Academician and Hero of Socialist Labor Otto Schmidt, a philologist-Germanist, USSR State Prize laureate Andreas Dul'zon, literary critic Franz Miller, and Olympic champions Rudol'f Plyukfel'der and David Rigert. Who in our country is not aware of the names of the world renowned musicians Svyatoslav Rikhter and Rudol'f Kerer, the talented composer Al'fred Shnitke and many many other Soviet Germans.

In almost all the major cities of our country there are specialized high schools where the teaching of foreign languages, including German, is conducted in an extensive program beginning in the second grade. In cities with a large German population (in Kazakhstan and in Altay) children of ethnic Germans study their native language and literature from the first grade. A special program has been formulated for this and textbooks published, the authors of which are also Soviet Germans.

In the pedagogical institutes in Omsk, Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Kokchetav and Orenburg groups are recruited for the German language departments every year from among the Soviet Germans, and these people subsequently work in those schools where German is taught as a native language.

A central newspaper, NEUES LEBEN ("New Life") is published for the German population of the USSR. In addition the newspaper FREUNDSCHAFT ("Friendship") is published in Kazakhstan, and the newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA in the Altay Kray. Since 1981 an almanac, RODNYYE PROSTORY has been appearing as a literary-publicistic supplement to the central newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN'. The republic radio stations in Alma Ata and Frunze as well as a number of kray and oblast radio centers regularly transmit programs for their German population in its native language. The German editorial offices of the central publishing houses Progress and Prosveshcheniye, and of the Kazakhstan publishing house in Alma Ata print the works of Soviet German authors and other literature for the German population of the USSR. A significant corps of writers working in their native language has grown up around these newspapers, German editorial offices and publishing houses. More than 100 German poets and prose writers regularly publish their works and 15 of them are members of the USSR Writers Union. Writers both of the older generation--

Dominic Gol'man, who has been awarded the order of friendship of peoples, Andreas Zaks, Eval'd Katsenshtayn, and others, as well as younger masters of the artistic written word--Friedrich Bol'ger, Robert Veber, Nora Pfeffer, Aleksandr Raymgen, Arno Prakht, Nelli Vakker and many others are pleasing their readers with their talent.

A German Drama Theater was recently opened in the industrial center of Temirtau in the Karagandin Oblast, and in this oblast center the folklore ensemble "Druzhba" is performing. Many similar examples of the flowering of the German nation in the USSR could be cited.

In his speech at the ceremonial meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted that "In our fraternal family all the nations and nationalities living in 20 autonomous republics and 18 autonomous oblasts and okrugs are successfully discovering their potential. Millions of Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kurds and representatives of other nationalities, for whom the Soviet Union has become a fatherland, are now fully enfranchised Soviet citizens."

Reports in the bourgeois press about "the unhappy, persecuted Jews, Armenians, Uzbeks, Germans, Ukrainians, Latvians..." serve once again as convincing testimony to the ongoing attempts by our enemies to cast doubt on the achievements of our state, which has provided the whole world with a radically new model of a way to resolve the nationality issue. The active participation of the almost 2 million ethnic Soviet Germans in the process of communist construction, and the continual growth of their social activity and creative capabilities does not suit our foes. The interests of Soviet Germans are inseparable from those of a multinational socialist state, of the interests of all nations and nationalities of our country, and are inseparable from our socialist ideals.

9276

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AUTHOR OF CHEKIST'S BIOGRAPHY RECALLS WORK OF 'THE TRUST'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 10 Dec 83 p 3

[Interview with Teodor Kirillovich Gladkov, writer, by V. Smirnov, SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA correspondent: "From the Biography of a Chekist"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The writer Teodor Gladkov is the author of several books about Chekists. These include works well-known to readers, such as "Menzhinskiy" and "Nikolay Kuznetsov," and the shorter narratives "Interrupted Jump" about the discovery by Soviet counter-intelligence of a plot by Fascist agents against the "Big Three," who had gathered in 1943 at the Tehran Conference, and "A Girl from Rzhev"--about the heroic deed of the Komsomol member, P. Savel'yevaya, who obtained a model of a secret German chemical shell. They also include "Lawrence's Last Action," written jointly with the Chekist Apollinarily Sergeyev--about the subversive operations of the Western Special Services during our own times.

Teodor Gladkov's new book, entitled "And I Cannot Help Believing Him...", was written in conjunction with Nikolay Zaytsev as co-author. It is the first documentary story in our literature about the chief of the Counter-Intelligence Department of the VChK--OGPU, Artur Khristianovich Artuzov, who participated directly in the operational planning and execution of the classic Chekist operations "The Trust" and "Syndicate-2."

The book is constructed on documentary materials. It has, however, a shrill resonance in our own times as well, when we have become witnesses to the unbridled campaign of "cold war" and international terrorism which has been elevated to the level of state policy by the U.S. administration.

Our correspondent, V. Smirnov, met with one of the book's authors--Teodor Gladkov--and requested him to answer several questions.

[Question] Teodor Kirillovich, our readers are, naturally, well-acquainted with all the bothersome details of "The Trust" and "Syndicate-2" operations which comprised the foundations of the television series by these same names. The Central Television Studio has recently repeated the last videotape, and those thousands of readers who have acquired your book could have watched it with this volume at hand. Nevertheless, these things are utterly different. It is not a question of an analogy. I would like to extract from the historical documents an instructive lesson.

[Answer] First of all, the following line could be singled out: Artuzov vs. Reilly. Who was Artuzov? He was born in a Russian village into the family of a Swiss cheesemaker of Italian origin, Khristian Frauchi. He was fluent in several languages. Because of his capabilities, he was enrolled at the Petersburg Polytechnical Institute and, after receiving his diploma as a metallurgical engineer, he went out to the Urals. Here Artur Frauchi began working in the Metallurgical Bureau of Professor Vladimir Grun-Grzhimaylo, a scientist of world renown. A brilliant career in this field seemed to be assured for the young engineer. But the February Revolution began, and Artur was sent to Petersburg in order to take part in revolutionary work. In 1917 he joined the Bolshevik Party. In time he became a staff member of the Cheka and then chief of the Counter-Intelligence Department of the VChK--OGPU under the last name of Artuzov.

A. Artuzov directly participated in the multi-year operation known as "The Trust," concerned with liquidating the operation with the code name "Syndicate-2," which was directed from behind the cordon of the White-Guardist, counterrevolution. As a result of this, one of the most dangerous foes of the Soviet regime--Boris Savinkov-- was led onto our territory and rendered harmless. And finally--the duel with the experienced agent of British Intelligence, Reilly. This was a struggle of minds, of the intellect, and professional skill.

[Question] And what kind of a person was Reilly, according to the documents which were utilized in the book?

[Answer] Let me recall to you that in the wartime Moscow of 1918 the apartment of the Moscow Art Theater actress, Yelizaveta Otten, was visited by the "Cheka staff member" Relinskiy. The actress herself was, on occasion, a companionable person; she lived surrounded by admirers and had a wide circle of business acquaintances. Relinskiy established a relationship with her and moved freely back and forth along the Moscow--Petrograd mainline; he set up contacts with the residents of French Intelligence, Xenophont Kalamatiano, and the American Intelligence--Henri Vertimon.

Neither the actress nor many of her personal entourage guessed that the man with the Chekist credentials who pretended to be a traitor--a former Tsarist officer--was an agent of British Intelligence named Reilly, walking about freely. At that time the Soviet security organs were still only beginning to acquire experience and powers. And Reilly was already preparing a plan for the arrest of the Soviet government leaders at a ceremonial meeting to be held at the Bolshoi Theater.

It is interesting to note that Reilly set forth his plan to Berzin, the commander of a division of Lettish Rifles stationed in the Kremlin garrison. With the concurrence of the Cheka, Berzin became a paid "agent" of Lockhart and received from Reilly the sum total of 1,200,000 rubles, which wound up in the Cheka's cash-box. Thus, the entire operation was prepared under the watchful control of the Chekists. They searched for Reilly himself, but he artfully disguised himself and had doubles.

One of the most experienced, clever, and resourceful intelligence agents, a lieutenant in the British Secret Intelligence Service under the pseudonym I-ST, Sydney George Reilly grew up in a Russian environment, and this provided him with many advantages. Furthermore, he was fluent in seven foreign languages.

In 1918 the international adventurist Reilly was sent to Russia on the cruiser Queen Mary. He was drawn to Moscow by the ambitious desire to overthrow the Soviet government and become--just think of it!--the ruler of Russia. However, all of Reilly's accomplices--more than 60 agents--were arrested, though he himself managed to hide. In trying the Lockhart case, the RSFSR Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal declared Reilly an outlaw and sentenced him to be shot if discovered within the borders of the republic.

Nevertheless, the British Intelligence did not "write off" its specialist in Russian affairs even after this failure.

[Question] But how did he end up?

[Answer] At that time in America the question of a large loan to Soviet Russia was being discussed.

Here there is an amazingly resonant echo with today's situation. We know that many American firms and individual businessmen want to cooperate with the USSR on a mutually advantageous basis in the fields of trade, science, development of outer space, culture, etc.

At that time also certain prominent businessmen were interested in such a loan, but the U.S. government took a wait-and-see attitude. Reilly opened his own office in New York, and it became a center of anti-Soviet propaganda. He traveled about the country and delivered lectures as an "eyewitness" to the atrocities of the Revolution. He also established a branch of the "International Anti-Bolshevik League" of White Guardists, and he drew up lists of prominent Americans who were favorably disposed toward Soviet Russia.

And here it was--November 1925. At a conspiratorial dacha in Malakhovka, while "visiting" some Chekists, Reilly tossed about a memo which served as an instruction concerning the theft of state art treasures and their transmittal abroad. This document, written in the hand of a British Intelligence agent is worth citing in full.

And so in Soviet Russia it was proposed to steal the following:

- "1. Etchings by famous Dutch and French masters, above all, by Rembrandt.
2. Engravings by French and British masters of the 18th century with untrimmed edges. Miniatures dating from the 18th and early 19th centuries.
3. Ancient coins, gold, and in mint condition.
4. Italian and Flemish primitives.
5. Masterpieces of the great masters of the Dutch, Spanish, and Italian schools."

The motor vehicle with Reilly in it left Malakhovka and in Moscow "just by chance" happened to turn into the Lyubyanka courtyard.

"Yes, you have won. Our age-old methodology has been cracked," Reilly declared at his interrogation in the Cheka.

"The Secret Intelligence Service has existed for 150 years. We have existed for 10," Artur Artuzov noted in his diary. "In this the former has an advantage. But we have our own advantages: a clear purpose, our incorruptibility, conscientiousness, and the main thing--our fidelity to the cause of socialism."

[Question] But did Artuzov's work continue?

[Answer] Yes. Here are a few more examples. A major general of the tsarist army named Annenkov led the entire Semirechensk Army through the Dzungarian Gates into the Chinese province of Sinkiang. From 1917 through 1920 he waged an armed struggle for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet regime.

How should this state criminal be isolated? At a conference in the Cheka Artuzov proposed to do this with the aid...of the Sinkiang governor himself. By means of clever manipulations through third persons Governor Fen Yuysen was prevailed upon to invite Annenkov to dinner and to appoint him adviser to the province of Kalgan, from which it would be easier to get this criminal. It was reported to Artuzov that the plan was being put into operation. And it ended with the fact that, on 31 March 1926 Annenkov and his chief of staff, Denisov, were handed over by the Chinese authorities themselves to the Soviet government as major war criminals.

Annenkov and Denisov were brought to Semipalatinsk, to that very Semirechensk Oblast where they had committed vile crimes. At the court trial 90 witnesses exposed their monstrous atrocities. One of the eyewitnesses recalled that a length of more than 200 versts, from the village of Glinskiy to the Dzungarian Gates contained a road strewn with corpses....

After Hitler came to power, the chief of the Intelligence Administration of the RKKA [Workers' and Peasants' Red Army], Corps Commander S. P. Uritskiy, and his deputy, Corps Commissar A. Kh. Artuzov, who was also in charge of the counter-intelligence organs, were entrusted with the task of organizing the collection of information about Germany's preparations for unleashing a war. Falling into Artuzov's field of vision was the Hungarian anti-fascist, Szandor Rado,

well-known by his intelligence agent pseudonym "Dora," who had opened a private cartographic agency entitled "Geopress." Right up to 1944 Szandor Rado transmitted to the Center the most important information about the plans of Hitler's Staff HQ.

This was also a heroic deed performed by Artuzov.

And yet another instance. Once, his friends remember, Artuzov was expecting a visit by the famous reciter, Vladimir Yakhontov, who wished to acquaint him with his new program based on Mayakovskiy's poems. The telephone rang--the corps commissar was urgently summoned to a meeting. There a discussion was held on Soviet armoured equipment and its German counterparts. Intelligence had received a report from Berlin concerning the new T-3 medium tank. Artuzov was entrusted with the task of procuring the necessary tactical and technical information, but he jokingly said that, if he had some money in hard currency and a little luck, then he might...

After returning home very late at night from the conference, Artuzov listened to the poems being read by Vl. Yakhontov, who had waited for his friend; he drank tea and fell to thinking. How was this famous actor to know that, perhaps, it was precisely during these pre-dawn hours that Artuzov's thoughts ripened into a plan for a brilliant operation.... Within two months after the conference the latest German tank, model T-3, stood on a Soviet tank-testing ground.

"In reading the book entitled "And I Could Not Help Believing Him..." derived from F. E. Dzerzhinskiy's personal statements about A. Artuzov, one's thoughts turn involuntarily again and again to our own alarming days: the recent events in Poland, inspired by the Western special services; the seizure and occupation of the island of Grenada, as prepared by the CIA; the threat of invasion in Nicaragua...the tragedy of Lebanon. And, finally, the decision by the NATO countries to begin deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing-2 rockets on the territory of Europe. War is being waged against socialism--hot, "cold," and secret. Our own experience teaches us to be vigilant and decisive. The first generation of Bolshevik Chekists forged our shield. But neither has our sword remained peacefully in its sheath. We are optimists, and we would like to beat all swords into plowshares. And we believe that this time will come. But, first of all, we have our shield. And then there is still--the sword."

2384

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YEVTUSHENKO'S NOVEL 'YAGODNYYE MESTA' REVIEWED

Volkov Review

Moscow NASH SOVREMENNİK in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 30 Nov 83)
pp 170-173

[Review by Oleg Volkov of book "Yagodnyye Mesta" (Berry Places) by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskiy pisatel'", Moscow, 1982: "Berry Places: Beating About the Bush"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] A few years ago LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published a short article by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko which called on brother writers not to be wrapped up in the framework of one chosen genre, but to work in several. The author backed up his opinion using himself as an example. Being a poet, he wrote, I appear in prose and participate in film productions--I perform, I write scripts and I produce. It was at that very time that a film about Tsiolkovskiy was produced in which Yevtushenko was assigned to play the leading role. Despite this circumstance, however, the film's life proved to be surprisingly curtailed, so that one didn't even have to make a genuine evaluation of how productive the poet's debut before the lens was. At any rate, he hardly added substantial features to our impressions of a person who now belongs to the older generation of native poets and so has long been well known to us.

Yevtushenko always comes out with critical articles about modern poetry and about brothers in the trade, and with essays about his foreign travels and acquaintances.

But then last year a leading Moscow publishing house published the poet's novel "Yagodnyye mesta" with a printing of 100,000 copies.

One is struck almost from the first pages by how arbitrarily the author jumps from one thing to another and how little he is concerned by the coherence of the story. What the novel's annotation delicately calls "the mosaic nature of the work" in fact is perceived as an absence of a main channel and of a unity of the concept embodied in the novel. The random episodes, life stories

touched upon and left half-told, the fractionated nature of the minor stream-lets of the plot, the disorderly glimpses of names, excursions into the past and into space, and the attention to wholly extraneous details is so persistent that one has to ask himself: What is the book about, now?

The author will forgive me for a comparison that automatically arises in reading "Yagodnyye mesta" between his novel and a very prosaic string-bag--a bag in which a bustling housewife who is making her rounds of the shops piles her purchases in succession so that the package of yogurt ends up with a parcel from the perfume store, a cellophane-wrapped chicken is lying on a bag of candies, the baked goods are piled on, the handle of pothook protrudes, and a carelessly wrapped bundle of crushed green onions can be seen... The scattered and inconsistent nature and the randomness of elements and characters with which Yevtushenko has filled his novel permits the conclusion that their choice was not dictated by a unity of thought or the author's intention to unfold an entire canvas. The novel's format turned out to be a unique envelope capable of holding the most diverse subjects, opinions and recollections and of reflecting the author's tastes and sympathies. Needless to say, the mixed character of materials hardly benefited the book.

What has been said does not infringe at all on an author's freedom of diversifying his narrative. If only it were kept on a key which allows extending a thread from each digression, chronological deviation and departure from the main concept to the nucleus which holds the novel together--the idea for which it was undertaken. But there is no leading idea in the mosaic of "Yagodnyye mesta," or perhaps it was solidly buried by the arbitrary volte of the author's pen, for essentially Yevtushenko didn't show any "berry places." After attuning the reader to a Siberian taiga theme, the novelist first reports on a meeting with schoolchildren from the United States, then sets aside a dozen pages to describe a concert in Hawaii or he resorts to basic English phrases in the speech of insignificant characters, importunately returns to sayings of Tsiolkovskiy; in other words, he writes about what is in no way connected with his story about "berry places" even remotely or metaphysically.

Wasn't such a substitution affected by the diffusiveness of the author's early impression of his Siberian childhood, which, moreover, merged with specifically military impressions that were not distinct enough to be able to write decades later about the life stories and characters of Siberians based on recollections? Weren't they overshadowed by impressions of youth and years of coming to adulthood, which coincided with a sharp change in career and a take-off in popularity of the beginning poet, separated from the far-off paternal home area? And it is not only that Yevtushenko has so forgotten the village customs and taiga realities that he forces the housewife to take the pan off the stove with oven prongs and the hunter to sew "skins" to the skis (and not glue on "kamusy"* with isinglass), but it is his sketchy, speculative knowledge of the characters, customs and usages of genuine taiga dwellers. The flair of an experienced writer could have suggested to him that he was insufficiently armed to artistically depict the present-day world of the far-off taiga, that his heart remains cold in recalling it and that he substituted

*"Kamusy" or "kamysy" is a strip of hide from a deer (or elk) leg which fits any ski.

reports about the capital intelligentsia, foreign sketches and information about this and that for a novel about taiga dwellers.

In order, nevertheless, to describe berry places he had to populate them with geologists, i.e., new arrivals, city-dwellers, essentially guests of the taiga lands. It is noteworthy that two native Siberians introduced at the beginning of the novel--berry agent Tikhon Tikhonovich and the ill-starred Ksyuta--remained incomplete: the author permitted them to be lost in the crowd of other extras in the novel.

The geologists are headed by a certain Kolomeytsev, to whom the author gave little attention and about whom special mention will have to be made. This Kolomeytsev forces his subordinates to set off on a somewhat dramatized taiga adventure. The dramatic wreck of two boats against the rocks of a turbulent stream with a subsequent miraculous rescue of all victims is described in a way people write about something imaginary and not about an incident one has experienced. The overall outline of the wreck is seemingly near reality, but the details and behavior of the unfortunate swimmers are presented with exaggerations and deviations which give the entire episode an unauthentic character.

We will note here that the author introduced several adventures to the novel which are intended to freeze the blood--fatal encounters with bears, snowdrifts and other extraordinary, threatening dangers--but the reader experiences no fear for the fate of the characters subjected to the dangers, having the feeling that all this is intentional, to tickle the nerves. And how can one understand why Sergey Lagutin didn't set off for help with the driver but sat more than two days in a vehicle stuck in the drifts? He suffered, starved and froze, and all without need. It is exactly as difficult to believe that the aforementioned geologists went voluntarily, without unavoidable need, to a sure wreck in the river, fully aware that there were no chances to avoid it! The fact is that people take a mortal risk when there is no other way out for rescue or when pursuing a high goal, but Kolomeytsev and his comrades had no such imperative. The entire episode is perceived as concocted "for interest."

At times the novelist seemingly doesn't notice that the invention bedecked by fantasy strikes the reader painfully. Take the cosmonaut soaring above the earth who recalls his uncle. "My uncle, an incorrigible pigeon-fancier, also was an incorrigible ladies' man. According to his stories, he once almost paid with his life for this. Right before the end of the war, being billeted with a little blonde German widow, Uncle didn't scorn her charms. But the widow, who would inconsolably mourn her husband who died at Stalingrad, had a mania: she would beseech Uncle to put on the NCO uniform of her never-to-be-forgotten Paul every evening for supper. Being an artist at heart, Uncle condescended to the woman's sentimentality and climbed into the uniform, chuckling. Uncle was the driver of a headquarters jeep. Once our own officers burst through the door without knocking to summon him on an urgent matter. They found a family idyll at the table in the form of the little widow, flushed from kirsch, and a German NCO in full uniform. The pistols already had been pulled and things would have been bad had it not been for the encyclopedic knowledge of special Russian expressions which was inconceivable for a German NCO. On returning from the

war and merrily repenting before his wife, who didn't take these confessions very merrily, Uncle gave quiet family living a brief tribute." That's the story, reader. In order to concoct such a thing, you will agree that one has to be blind and deaf to the people's memory of the war and to those wounds of ours which still bleed.

The psychological portrait of this wholly and fully concocted (and so nameless) cosmonaut would be incomplete without one other feature of his character. We are speaking of the hero's penchant for fighting. "When he would see some kind of 'mug,'" announces the author, "he always wanted to tear into it... And how can one not hit a mug if it is a mug? He would try to shift to mental assaults. This was difficult; it wasn't that his hands itched, but they straight-out trembled. Of course, much can't be attained with fists, but still there is at least a partial "liberation of the soul." The question automatically arises: Where is the criterion for such a unique evaluation of an individual? And how will the hero err in the definition of a "mug"? And how will he begin to "liberate the soul" after falling by mistake not on a pimply cadet telling a joke, as in the novel, but on a blast furnace attendant tired after his shift or an electric locomotive engineer who has become sleepy on a long trip?

Other serious complaints can be lodged against the author of "Yagodnyye mesta" and mistakes more significant than a description of unlikely adventures can be pointed out. I have in mind the story included in the novel about the dispossession of a peasant who was made a kulak because the village had no genuine kulak. The period in which the kulaks were eliminated comprises a very complicated page in the history of the Russian village, and if one sets about telling of it, one must do this conscientiously, thoroughly studying not only the facts, but also the situation and atmosphere of those years.

As I already said, the novel has no real berry places, shady bottom lands or mosscovered hillocks dotted with blueberries or foxberries, or almost none. But there are as many strawberries as you like, served directly and revealingly. Yevtushenko recreates scenes of crude possession, not even cloaked in loving feelings. It is quite possible that they have been taken from life, but still a description of "love" at an animal level leaves a bad taste, the more so as the author elevates a vulgar seducer to the rank of main characters and strong personalities.

This concerns Kolomeytsev. Yevtushenko placed him at the head of the geological detachment where he enjoys authority and even serves as a model for some young people. It is as if it never occurred to the author that his hero is essentially a scoundrel who is devoid of conscience and even of normal male decency. Yevtushenko describes in an overly condescending and calm manner how Kolomeytsev "took a girl crudely and imperiously" and the next day "gave the appearance that nothing had happened, merely clapping his victim on the back reassuringly: 'you're a good chap, Yul'ka!'" The author admires the ravisher's firmness of character and his ability to "shut off memory," and doesn't overlook stressing that this same dishonored Yul'ka devotedly worships Kolomeytsev all her life. In short, he indulges him: a person with a strong will is above

the concepts of good and evil. All this, by the way, is hardly new... One automatically recalls the main characters of Artsybashev, scandalously familiar at the dawn of our century!

It is also bad that the halo with which the author found it possible to illuminate his Kolomeytsev is not a chance blunder or miscalculation. A second similar type is portrayed in the novel--Seleznev, whom Yevtushenko also cannot bring himself to condemn completely. The monstrous egotism of the cynic, his unprincipled careerism and all the rotten substance of the grasping upstart are brightened up by a bold, albeit rash act here, and there by a tender love for his father concealed in the recesses of his heart, although it is only proclaimed and not confirmed by anything. One has to be surprised: Whence this blindness of the writer who is seemingly hypnotized by people capable of subduing a woman "by an unbendingly imperious look" or by the rabble which consider themselves the golden youth? The author is betrayed by his flair if he doesn't foresee how the "exploits" of the Kolomeytsevs and the Seleznevs will be perceived by people not graced by the qualities of supermen!

But it would be unjust to create the impression that only rapists and freaks are portrayed in "Yagodnyye mesta." The list of people who are likeable and endowed with traits spotted in our contemporaries is no short one. I will refer just to the hunchback Kesha. This is a person who, although he doesn't play a significant role in the novel, has a character which probably is somewhat elevated above the humdrum but with a heart of rare purity; a person who has not become embittered at the world because of his defect but who is imbued with love for life and sympathy for people. And so it is understandable that Klasha, who has strayed from the beaten path and who has despaired of getting out of the quagmire of dissipation into which awkward everyday circumstances have drawn her, will cling to Kesha and that his presence alone heals her longing for purity and responds to her attraction to good.

The image of Ivan Kuz'mich, an old Kerzhak [Old Believer] who has lived a long life in conformity with the precepts of grandfathers and fathers which gave his character tenderness and firmness, is shaped boldly and vigorously. An outer severity conceals his kindness and readiness to come to people's help. Although the countenance of an old taiga dweller is somewhat stereotyped and familiar from a number of works about the Siberian territory, this figure is lively and memorable. We can also point to Sergey Lagutin, the likeable young geologist inspired by honest principles and the desire to be useful to people.

A leaning toward caricature appears in the author at times in depicting people. He sharpens and hypertrophies their negative traits and one senses that Yevtushenko is presenting people familiar to him under fictitious names. His personal attitude comes to the fore and the descriptions lose objectivity and typical features.

Modern Soviet writing fortunately has gotten rid of the techniques of polemics which existed in literary practices of the past and which allowed defamation in the press of ideological enemies and foes right down to ridiculing their physical defects or family circumstances. It would happen where criticism

would be reduced to humiliating attacks against an individual and to a settling of scores. In the style in which Yevtushenko described the "salon" poet, the inveterate boor and idiot who reviles Pushkin and our culture, and especially in the tale about the Soviet artist who painted a portrait of Allende, the poet resorted to means borrowed from the rejected arsenals of journal polemics of the past right down to a distortion of facts. One cannot help but regret this, the more so as exaggerated portraits are incapable of persuasion.

Yevtushenko overly charges his main characters with expressing the thoughts which occupy him. He provokes arguments between them on the most varied problems of modern times. The novel is crammed with dialogues, opinions and meditations reflecting both the author's views and sympathies and the arguments which he is disputing, or he refutes the viewpoint of enemies. Political and moral themes, general philosophical categories, and entirely abstract reflections concerning the endlessness of the incomprehensible and similar matters present a broad field for the author to present his views and not always indisputable assertions, and often also for rather empty philosophizing such as the cosmonaut's reflections from the "Epilogue" which fill several pages. Running across the statement to the effect that in order "to love a neighbor like yourself you must first learn TO LOVE YOURSELF," I automatically wondered whether or not the inclination shown by the author to justify the egotism of his main characters didn't have roots in that upside-down evangelic precept. But regardless of whether the author is quoting the thoughts of the cosmonaut "to himself," the long talk Sergey Lagutin has with Kesha or the reflections of Tikhon Tikhonovich, everywhere there is a reflection of the restless and searching thought of Yevtushenko himself which checks both the established and the refuted moral canons and truths with conclusions suggested by life.

To conclude these remarks I will dwell briefly on the novel's language. Familiarity with Yevtushenko's poetry leaves an impression of the poet's skillful handling of the language, the accuracy of his vocabulary, and the tactful use of neologisms in consonance with the system of Russian speech. In leading the reader into the "berry places" the writer decided, to pass on local color, to recreate the features of the Siberian dialect with the truncated verbal endings--"lomat" instead of "lomayet" [he breaks] and "cho" instead of "chto" [what] and by copying the incorrect pronunciation of uncommon words. That is how the Kerzhaks spoke at one time in olden days, but now one more often hears speech at Siberian construction projects and villages near the Yenisey which doesn't differ from the language prevalent everywhere. So one hardly should vex the reader throughout the novel with a literal recreation of phonetic inarticulateness which has an intrusive sound, the more so as these disharmonious "cho's" and "lomat's" have been impregnated in very literate sentences.

Some of the novelist's "innovations" also cause objections. The expression "she plunged into the 'ledizna bystredi';" and the "not unlikeable store-keeper" or "I implored" instead of "I asked for leave" appear to be an unnecessary invention. Yevtushenko writes: "At the moment of life's uttermost tribulations." It appears expressive, but at the same time it is difficult to get rid of the thought that by allowing such liberties in the printed language we

*Probably meaning "icy torrent" [Translator's note].

risk plunging it into the chaos of jargon: what is permissible in lively conversation hardly is appropriate for the pages of a book.

Were I the editor of "Yagodnyye mesta" I would suggest that the author seek a replacement for the phrases "he scratched the back of his head, which already was getting a bit bald" or "so the skis wouldn't rustle in the snow," which seemingly belong to a Russified foreigner, and I recommend doing this in a republication, if such is anticipated...

Is the novel deserving of this?

In adding up my diverse impressions of it, I can only answer conditionally. I can't help but admit that the author's overall talent and his many years of literary experience have had a positive effect on the novel. One can point out pointed descriptions, valid observations, the dynamic nature with which a number of scenes were constructed, and the liveliness of dialogues as being unquestionable merits of "Yagodnyye mesta." But these separate and well-arranged elements of the book do not balance out its overall eclectic nature. I am forced to repeat my question: What is the book about? And to answer it with words from the comedy: "About this and that, but more about nothing!"

We will conclude with the statement that the large form has evaded the poet for now.

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Rasputin Review

Moscow MOSKVA in Russian No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press 9 Sep 81) p 3

[Review by Valentin Rasputin of novel "Yagodnyye mesta" by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko: "A Word About the Novel"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] "I wish you white"--Siberian women's greeting to each other during washing.

Unfortunately we (both writers and readers) already have become accustomed in literature not only to stable definitions of genres, but also to the immobile and low-mobility forms of genres, where according to our ideas a novel can exist only when written according to such-and-such laws and uniformities, a tale according to such-and-such, and a narrative according to such-and-such.

Traditions, including in literature, and in Russian literature in particular, are without question a good thing, and our traditional prose cannot complain of inattention to it on the part of writers or about ossification within itself, but tradition can only exist as wholesome tradition if it has exits and exceptions.

It is impossible to squeeze this novel into the Procrustean bed of the customary and reserved idea of a novel. It is broader first of all in external

characteristics. Its boundaries--state, geographic, temporal and earthly--have been shoved back and so the overall thinking is more spacious; in this respect the novel is surprisingly free, unexpected and exposed, just as life itself can be free, unexpected and exposed. A comparison with life that is complicated and full of meaning, where everything is interrelated and marvelously connected, also will be needed in another instance: the novel has no one, two or three main characters, to which we also have become largely accustomed and about whom the movement of action and thought takes place. Insofar as this is permissible I would say that the main character here also is life with its past, present and future--a concentration of the main things in life where its grandeur, mystery, complexities and problems large and small are not lost in any way and where even the so-called simple person living at the ends of the earth in the still remote Siberian taiga also has not been forgotten.

I would call "Yagodnyye mesta" an AGITATION novel in the best sense of this word. This is agitation, combining within itself literature and civic pride, for all the best in our society and for all the best in man and the best in the world, which over the last two or three decades has become smaller by several times and where new and of course not just excellent heights and depths have been discovered in man.

Kardin Review

Moscow VOPROSY LITERATURY in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 21 Oct 83) pp 46-85

[Review by V. Kardin of novel "Yagodnyye mesta" by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko: "The Discussion Platform: About the Benefit and Harm of Arithmetic"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Excerpts] 1

"Oh day and night! What marvels!"

W. Shakespeare

When it comes true, the unrealizable acquires a prosaic nature. During the school years we became engrossed in reading Jules Verne's fantastic story "From the Earth to the Moon" and having reached mature years, we view a direct broadcast from space in the stream of television news. After this the score of a hockey match and the weather forecast are given...

In Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's novel "Yagodnyye mesta" the cosmonaut flying above earth scratches the back of his head, which is beginning to bald, and thinks: space is something domestic; it began with Gagarin's "Let's go!"

The fitters appeared among literary characters with the invention of the electric lightbulb; most often it was on the basis of previous coachmen or yardkeepers. Literature went its own way irrespective of the coachmen and fitters, irrespective of grown-ups, thanks to steam and electricity and the speeds of travel.

But the penetration into space does not just represent new speeds which overcome earth's gravitation. The cosmonaut from "Yagodnyye mesta" saw the planet from a distance erasing the striped border posts, the plowed strips, barbed-wire and customhouses. All this is absurd and laughingly unimaginable such as, for example, the word "visa."

Yevtushenko (one must give him his due) was among the first to see the boundless horizons opening up for the novel thanks to a new, previously inaccessible view of the earth and earthly things, the relative nature of many age-old categories, and the inevitable (in perspective) dying out of some of them which seemed immutable. The cosmonaut, who plays a subsidiary role in the narrative, justifies in principle by his brief presence the intercontinental scope of this narrative and its territorial boundlessness.

The multilayered temporal nature of the modern novel and the freedom of moving in centuries and decades already are commonplace. Now its spatial scope is being reinforced and problems (among them truly global problems) are multiplying. The exchange between them, between that which is discovered for the first time and that which is commonplace and firmly entrenched, is becoming ever clearer.

In the cosmonaut from "Yagodnyye mesta" the future intersects with the present more perceptibly than in any other character, and this is proper. The cosmonaut will return to a given area and the commonplace will get back its power over him. After crossing the border he will see the posts with emblems and the customhouses. His mother-in-law will wish to move to Moscow and it will be necessary to fuss over a visa...

New ideas do not revoke the earthly reality and weekday complexities. In an age of interplanetary routes, masterly heart operations, scrupulous precision and mathematical computations, where a driver's reaction speed in an emergency is defined (0.7 seconds, if I do not err) and the sign on the rear of the bus cautions: "Swerve of one meter"; trains alas are late, trolleybuses are taken by force at rush hour, people lose invaluable time in lines and waste it waiting for a fitter (now he is called an electrician), who just yesterday promised to correct the wiring, but he still hasn't come...

And so shouldn't the spaceborne view of the earth be regarded as a privilege of the cosmonaut while he is in flight?

It stands to reason that we are not given to test and see what has been tested and seen by him. This has not been given as yet, but the conquest of space, this triumph of human thought and valor, already has settled in our general awareness, and not always obviously.

We live with daily concerns, we look under our feet more often than at the sky and the "space theme" is not included in the list of literary topics (fantasy doesn't count; from time immemorial it has made flights without ceremony to the moon, to Mars or even further). But something was disturbed and shifted almost imperceptibly in a literature absorbed in strictly earthly anxieties.

"Yagodnyye mesta" was published in the journal MOSKVA at the end of 1981 with a brief, half-page foreword by V. Rasputin. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA soon published G. Semenov's enthusiastic comments: "a wind of the times," "I am subjugated by the author," "pleasing to tears" and "much sensual, vital passion." Yevtushenko's main character was compared with Andrey Balkonskiy.

LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE published Yu. Surovtsev's detailed review entitled "In Search of the Truth" with the subtitle: "Notes on Ye. Yevtushenko's Novel 'Yagodnyye Mesta' and More." Surovtsev saw that the novel provides food for a discussion going beyond its bounds. Disputing Rasputin in some things, he confidently placed "Yagodnyye mesta" among the best books of recent years. This viewpoint was not supported, but it also didn't generate objections. Silence reigned about the novel. Not one literary monthly commented on it and the novel didn't enter the standard list of noteworthy innovations. No readers' boom ensued...

The most minor of the miracles which happened was the turn to prose of Yevtushenko, just as for poets in general. Everything seems to be clear. The reviewer places a clean sheet in the typewriter and raps out: "The poet's prose." Everything is downhill from there: "The years chase a mad rhyme," the poet enriches prose with lyricism, . . . gives it validity . . . an epic beginning is lyricized, . . . a further development of age-old motives, . . . prose anticipated by poetry, . . . the poet's experience and eye are felt in the emotional elevation of tone and in the accuracy of observations. . . . The poet was reputed to be an "agitator and bawler" and consequently his novel is "agitational."

Such opinions with slight variations are expressed almost every time about poets who create tales, stories and novels. Some of them were borrowed from Yu. Surovtsev, who examines in detail the transition of Yevtushenko's muse into a new sphere, traces the development of previous themes and images, and recalls the "stern prose" and "mad rhyme." The attribute of an "agitational novel" was proposed by V. Rasputin. "That's it!" exclaimed G. Semenov in the aforementioned article entitled "The Poet's Prose." Surovtsev has some divergences with Rasputin and he has no assurance that it is necessary to have a well-known prose writer give parting words to a well-known poet.

The view of prose as a continuation of poetry, a new interpretation of it or, if you like, a refinement of positions and views, and so on, is not devoid of basis and is not fruitless. It explains and reveals a great deal, but far from everything.

Other approaches also are proper: close but also excellent ones permitting us to see some things in a new light.

In examining Andrey Voznesenskiy's memoirs entitled "Oh," A. Latypina recalled an ancient albeit half-forgotten truth that prose exposes the poet. It not only continues and develops, but also reveals in the author's ego what is automatically concealed like a cloak by metaphors and rhymes.

The article by Academician D. Likhachev entitled "Stellar Rain," which preceded the collection by Boris Pasternak "Air Routes," tells about the abyss between prose and poetry and about how Pasternak crossed it. Poetry, he assumed, began in prose. Likhachev finds images of future poetry and of "Hamlet" in the prose text of Pasternak.

A turn of extreme importance for us opens up (according to the usual view, prose is - continuation of poetry and it is easy to rush by this turn): "both prose and poetry are coming closer to indissolubility specifically because both include reality; reality correctly perceived and accepted by human awareness is poetry which at the same time also is primogenital prose."

It happens where, in turning to prose, the poet not only proceeds from himself, but comes to know reality anew. It is desirable to correlate his prose with this reality, and not only with his poetry, otherwise in a short time the poet-prose writer, in a critic's eyes, is like a dog chasing his own tail.

Literary critics researching the creativeness of Pushkin and Lermontov have made many very valuable observations and expressed many opinions about the complicated development of classically clear prose and about the sources which nurtured it (former poetry is not alone among the sources). "Lermontov did not develop this strict, clear and compressed style of realistic prose right away," writes Academician V. Vinogradov. "Lermontov's initial experiments in prose border on the tradition . . . of romantic prose."

And so a poet who has turned to prose encounters the problem of mastering its language, figurative system, and complexities in composition. He has to acquire and win his own place in prose. One of the first among poets, he himself does not fall among the first prose writers.

Many of the modern poets, following one of the greats who meets their temperament, talent traits and emotional quality, assume a role which becomes their nature. There is nothing surprising or shameful here. Some proceed from Mayakovsky, others from Blok and still others from Yesenin, frankly naming their spiritual fathers.

In poetry it is easier and more natural to play a role (in that sense which social psychology places in this category) than in prose. The directions of modern prose usually are not so clearly linked with source names. Even those emulating Marcus do not reject the lessons of Tolstoy. It is not surprising when one poet who comes to prose becomes confused and rushes around, especially at first, when he experiences all kinds of influences on himself.

The notorious "poet's prose" is capable of expressing not only a trend of his own creativeness and developing it, but also certain traits of today's narrative literature and spirits of a new day. The neophyte prose writer is combined in his person with the professional master poet. Such a combination gives him heightened responsiveness and at times an imitativeness, an involuntary and uncritical dependency on images. But various images are encountered and are perceived in different ways. This is fully explainable psychologically. Since this is so, miracles are not precluded, just as the naturalness of their alternation is not precluded.

Centrifugal forces are activated in "Yagodnyye mesta" from the first lines of the "Epilogue," which opens the book, with truly a global sweep. Like the cosmonaut who sees beneath him the lights of Paris, who can turn a bit left and see the lights of London and, out of the corner of his eye, those of Copenhagen, the author constantly has in his field of view cities and villages, the past and present, the author constantly has in his field of view cities and villages, the past and present, and dozens of people from foreign presidents to native drunks and debauchees.

The "Epilogue" which is moved forward is a priming, a take-off run, a herald, a promise and the initial offering... Right after the cosmonaut there appears his friend and mentor Yuriy Gagarin ("... Such a person would not be drawn intentionally on any kind of secret drawings. This person was assembled by the Earth herself, as it were, composing him out of all its smiles which marvelously were preserved among the grins and smirks"). From Gagarin to a certain poet, extremely vulnerable, painfully conceited and a cry-baby. Vain-glory is denoted as one of the likely motives. The cosmonaut was free of it; he didn't fuss or intrigue. Awaiting his turn with praiseworthy patience, he read Dostoyevskiy.

The theme of art and artistic purpose enters the novel along with Dostoyevskiy and the young poet, but now it will make room for recollections of the childhood of the cosmonaut who lost his father near Berlin, about Zima Station where this childhood took place, about the uncle who substituted for the cosmonaut's father, about his uncle's amorous adventures in subjugated Germany and his native Siberia ("the new manager of the rayon savings bank was one of the objects of application of his inexhaustible energy"). What the cosmonaut does not manage to discern in the port of his ship or to recall appears to him in sleep as pictures of the near future. For example, the family bed in which the driver wakes up to the logger who says, turning to his wife, blazing with heat like a large white stove: "Well, Mashka, we have a vacation. Shall we set off for Miami Beach? Or to Easter Island? It's also not bad in Hawaii, they say--one can breathe. . . . And there are the Galapagos..."

The cosmonaut departed from sleep and continues his life description. The story of a marriage with a make-up woman from a film studio persistently confirms the mundane nature of everything that fell to the lot of the pilot who was placed on detached duty beyond the limits of the earth's atmosphere. Mundane, but not accidental. The features and manifestations of the cosmonaut as revealed in the "Epilogue" become problems in later chapters.

The cosmonaut loved to fight. "More correctly, it wasn't that he loved it, he had to. When he saw some kind of 'mug' he always wanted to tear into it. He would fight with himself and indoctrinate himself, but that didn't work. He still was of Siberian stock. . . . And how could he not hit a mug if it was a mug?"

The make-up woman had "uncommonly flashing eyes" which resembled watermelon seeds. They fell in love with each other at the first glance or, more

accurately, at the first fight instigated by the cosmonaut in defense of the girl against drunken good-for-nothings. The make-up woman turned out to be resolute, intelligent, free of mincing manners and ready to love Pushkin even if he weren't published. She selflessly perceived nature, not for the sake of "frying or pickling"; cutting open a white mushroom, she would pull it into bits and thread them on branches for the squirrel.

Not satisfied with recollections, the cosmonaut thought about a great deal, including the word "people." "This word cannot be spoken too often--it has to be thought. . . . Perhaps as never before, he felt himself to be a part of these people, as if launched to space on an invisible thread plucked from the gonfalon on the Kulikovo Field and blessed by Sergiy Radonezhskiy, or from the sail of the first of Peter's yawls's, or from the flag above the Reichstag."

He complained that many are "underburdened by their own thoughts. On the other hand a full overload through desire makes a good life." The overload prompted him to reflect about true and imaginary self-love, about the Bible, about Okudzhava's "Song of An American Soldier," about Tyutchev's line "One can only have faith in Russia," about Werner von Braun, about Hitler, about Truman, about Christ...

In this flow the cosmonaut returned again in his mind to Tyutchev's line with the intent of updating it: "Not only HAVE FAITH in Russia, and have faith NOT ONLY in Russia. All nationalisms are inhuman." This theme clearly is not of indifference to Yevtushenko. By the way, a great deal is not of indifference to him and it is thoroughly known that it is not of indifference to many.

The emotional, verbal pressure of the "Epilogue" is great. Its democratic breadth is overwhelming. Without yet going into explanations, the author names and screams out the symbols of his faith in carrying people along. If a comparison is made, it is not with Yevtushenko's poetry, but with his expressive manner of reading by forcing the voice.

SUCH AN "Epilogue" fully meets the writer's practical goals. Were it in its lawful place, the "Prologue" driven to the finale (a prerevolutionary Kaluga market and Tsiolkovskiy in polemics with the merchant Semiradov) would not function with the gripping force of the "Epilogue." The married couple which turns up in the belated "Prologue" after invisibly arriving from the Galaxy of Immortality causes easy confusion.

But if one deviates from the customary review comparison it will become clear that "Yagodnyye mesta" has the least restless fantasy; it is antifantastic. The episode with the diminutive Ы-Ы and Й-Й is an exception which strikes the eye. As applied to the atomic newly married couple it is more correct to speak not about a flash of fantasy but about its scarcity and irrelevance. Sensing this, Yevtushenko probably placed the miniature galactic dwellers at the very end of the book, which is densely populated by commonplace people. An incessant imagination is less desirable than other qualities for a "'portrait' gallery-suite." Prose demands greater inner definiteness, concentration and composure. It doesn't work to be simultaneously "different . . . toil-worn and idle . . . incompatible, inconvenient, bashful and impertinent, evil and good."

Yevtushenko managed--as much as it is within his ability--to overcome his own "difference"; he preferred expediency to all his enumerated traits. It is not a play of imagination and a heaven of poetry, but perceived life and endless earthly details. Not to disdain anything, not to brush aside anything, taking notice and account of everything. The invisible threads which seemingly launched man into space not only represent a metaphorical expression of popular sources (three, not two and not four), but also a metaphorical sign of a creative technique reducing turbulence, happenstance and splashes to a minimum. When the time comes, each of the weapons hung in the "Epilogue" will fire.

In a relatively small portion of the novel the writer reacted to the evil of the day on all points and formed a chain of comparisons which Yu. Surovtsev mentions approvingly: "honesty/dishonesty, kindness/evil, internationality/nationality, joy for comrades' successes/envy of them, unselfishness, enthusiasm and selflessness of people living for the sake of HIGH goals/self-interest of life for the satisfaction of the 'animal' in ourselves, including the petty feelings, careerism, hypocrisy, cowardice and so on and so on." In addition to the named and unnamed contrapositions where the author openly takes the side of honesty, goodness, unselfishness and so on (it is awkward to give praise for this as it is not accustomed in literature to extol evil, envy and dishonesty), the novel has a great multitude of problems which are within the family, interstate, everyday, social, production, cultural-enlightenment, ecological and creative. It stands to reason that there are also historical sections, opinions on all possible issues from (Nazon), Caligula, Decembrism to--there is no "to." It is easier to find a theme, problem or science which was not touched on by the author and his characters. Modern ballet (there is mention of jazz music) seemingly is bypassed and glaciology is ignored. No, glaciology is reflected.

"What is this? Biology I understand, physiology, psychology and zoology I understand, but I haven't heard of glaciology," grieves Nikanor Sergeevich Barkhotkin, one of the bearers of popular wisdom. The lack of knowledge doesn't dishearten Nikanor Sergeevich in the least. On hearing that glaciology is the science of ices, he remarks with his invariable great wisdom:

"Everything began with ice, and everything may end with ice..."

An encyclopedia of Russian life? It is to no less an extent an encyclopedia of international life as well. And pedagogic. And literary. And so on

The abundance of main characters in "Yagodnyye mesta" seems to have troubled V. Rasputin: "The novel has no one, two or three main characters to which we . . . have become largely accustomed and about whom the movement of action and thought takes place. Insofar as this is permissible I would say that the main character here also is life with its past, present and future..."

I believe it is impermissible. In literature life does not exist with heroes. It exists in them.

In tracing out the plot lines of "Yagodnyye mesta," Yu. Surovtsev discovered the only lacking element. The theme of creation and labor heroism is absent.

Made in a fully friendly fashion, the rebuke would sound strange in another case. But in another case the critic would not have made it. He judges the novel according to laws established for that by the author himself. In a panorama striving for an all-encompassing nature, "this (scenes of labor and dialogues about it--V. K.) would not be alien at all."

A clear omission and oversight. It is especially vexing with a mosaic montage where seemingly nothing is forgotten, nothing is omitted and everything comes together in the best appearance, corresponding to the author's regulated plans.

It is true that the novel has a mowing scene. Geological detachment chief Kolomeytsev, who takes a "litovka" in his hands for the first time, mows together with Ksyuta. But that is not labor enthusiasm. "Mowing together somehow reminded Kolomeytsev of a dance--that same giving of two bodies to a common rhythm, that same exchange of glances with eyes flashing with excitement, that same music pouring within, that same intoxicating rocking of an inclined world."

It is, alas, not a creative enthusiasm, but a sensual one, and not at all labor records that it promises. A problem of sex, a "rosy gawk," as Sasha Chernyy said, also troubles the author, as do other "damned problems." Admitting the alluring nature of this problem for readers, he advanced it. Hardly had the "Epilogue" ended when the action shifted to sinful soil and the talk was of sin and desire of the flesh...

3

In flying about the planet the cosmonaut thinks about Zima Station and chews on pitch sent from there. His attachment to Zima Station is just as natural as is Yevtushenko's attachment to it.

But doubt arises when a universal explanation of all possible features and acts which the writer reveres as unconditionally virtuous is deduced directly from a love for native haunts beloved from childhood.

The cosmonaut is inclined to fight inasmuch as "he was of Siberian stock." Siberian stock is supreme and Siberian character is head and shoulders above all else. The stern and just Ivan Kuz'mich, Ksyuta's father, is a genuinely Siberian soul. Ksyuta herself is also, as is the cosmonaut, ladies' man Grisha and other characters for whom the author, who also includes himself among the Siberians, has a fervent sympathy despite the rumor which accuses Ivan Kuz'mich of murder because of jealousy. (If it is permitted to tear into a "mug" why not wield a pole?)

The regional nature is substantiated historically in the novel. "The best people always were banished to Siberia. . . . A Siberian person can be recognized a verst off because our land absorbed the spirit of those best people."

But it was not only the best people who were banished to Siberia, but also the worst--rogues, robbers, bandits, murderers. How did such receptive Siberian

land absorb their spirit? This land, it is explained subsequently, is a certain stronghold of internationalism. All nations have been at peace here from time immemorial and the word "zhid" [derogatory term for Jewish people] was not known. Well then, did the criminals exiled to Siberia carry the pure light of internationalism to the aborigines?

Possibly some kind of inclinations and manifestations take their origin from the earth on which the first steps are taken, from the sky over an infant's head and from traditions of the paternal homeland (not all of them are virtuous without fail...). But judging from some articles and books, one encounters urban ("Moscow," "Tyumen" and so on), oblast, zonal ("Virgin Lands"), riverside ("Volga") and other characters.

4

At times it was permissible to compare Yevtushenko's poetry with a pendulum. After swinging to one side, the not always stable muse would list to the other side with the next poem, demonstrating tirelessly "how many different things intermingled" in it. Yevtushenko's novel gives rise to different associations. Yes, it is about space, about global dilemmas, about the Siberian spaces and the immensity of the taiga. But the pharmaceutical scales rise above everything and the cups swing evenly. That is possibly how the synthesis for which the critics persistently call is depicted to the writer. Possibly.

In an attempt for overall balance the novel's author made a discovery heretofore unknown to our literature, which has thought little and has written little about fierce class struggle in the village and about collectivization. The literature had agonizing thoughts for nothing in turning time after time to the 1930's. If we take "Yagodnyye mesta," it doesn't imply particular difficulties.

The kulaks from the lower villages were moved along the Lena to the upper village and the kulaks there were moved under the very same guard to the lower village.

5

Arithmetism, which has made itself known in certain broadly conceived canvasses of our days, in "Yagodnyye mesta" vividly reflects the contradiction between the influx of problems, characters and episodes and the need to comprehend all this and accommodate it in the thoroughly extended but not unlimited bounds of the novel. The writer is content with denoting a phenomenon, theme or conflict without delving too much into their sources, nature or genuine significance.

Two portraits connected in a montage are glimpsed in the cinematographic variegation of "Yagodnyye mesta." There are exactly two pages for each. First there is the "salon poet," drunk as a skunk, accompanied by a Swedish and an American correspondent. He swills cognac and washes it down with water from a flower vase. In an offhand manner he abuses native literature from Pushkin to Pasternak, all Russian culture, and the Russian intelligentsia, "smelling of footcloths."

In "Yagodnyye mesta" the people who appear as main characters are imaginary, as are the circumstances, even those which lay claim to historical absolute-ness. This at times leads to such confusion that the devil will break his leg and one in the right and one in the wrong exchange places.

Jerking each of the three threads found back in the "Epilogue," Yevtushenko recreates the past and connects it to the present. The appeal to the Great Patriotic War is even more persistent, which is understandable. There are many of its participants among the novel's characters.

A tragically improbable frontline episode is cited as edification, with pressure and with profound morality.

Our cavalry corps has fallen into a "pocket" in Belorussia. The situation is desperate: hunger, the ammunition almost gone, no communications. The Germans toss leaflets to those surrounded and the Vlasov people yell into the megaphones, stressing the injuries inflicted on the people by Soviet power.

The corps commander, a general, made the decision to break out through the enemy encirclement and through our own demoralized units located between the Germans and the cavalrymen. Bloated from hunger and having lost the remnants of energy and hope, the infantrymen didn't support the cavalry corps; the general went for a breakthrough through our own infantry.

A rather young lieutenant began to raise a revolver to his temple with a trembling hand, not having withstood this horror or the bombing, but he was cut down by a bullet fired by the general. The general anticipated a probable suicide, assuming that the lieutenant's round would cause a chain reaction of suicides...

If one still tries to understand what's what... But it is impossible to understand, as much as one would like to. Encirclement and semiencirclement are commonplace for a cavalry corps. Its purpose is to make raids against the enemy rear, i.e., under conditions close to encirclement. Of course even cavalry corps would get into trouble. There is nothing unusual in that for cavalrymen, who constantly roam the enemy rear and lines of communication.

The nightmarish picture depicted in "Yagodnyye mesta" resembles the most gloomy days of 1941. But where did the Vlasov people and Vlasov propaganda come from at that time? There was not even a hint of a Vlasov army as yet. Vlasov had not yet committed treason.

That means the fall of 1943 (the beginning of the liberation of Belorussia) or the summer of 1944 (the Soviet Army's famed Belorussian Offensive Operation). But at that time our corps didn't get into a "pocket" in these places. Veterans don't remember it and historians don't know about it. But the Germans fell into a "pocket." This word was applied to them more often.

It probably is still the bitter fall of 1941.

But what 1941 if the shoulderboards were known to be instituted by us at the end of 1942?

It turns out to be 1943 or 1944. It doesn't work in any way. Even admitting a mythical encirclement of a mythical cavalry corps during 1943-1944 (not in Belorussia, but somewhere at other fronts), one has to admit that the situation had nothing in common with what was depicted in the novel. Communications was maintained by radio and by aircraft. In penetrating, the cavalymen didn't crush their own infantry brothers.

And the general's murder of the youngish lieutenant who intended to shoot himself? That is murder without any justification. There is not the slightest obligatoriness for an epidemic of suicides, the more so as the corps already is breaking out.

6

The novel is constructed according to the model of a broadly representative delegation, and no one is bypassed: the working class, peasantry (various layers), creative intelligentsia, the youth, pensioners, veterans, fighters for peace, and progressive figures of the West...

But with such an "EXTENSIVE breadth" (Yu. Surovtsev's definition) it is necessary to have a more "capacious," more "INTENSIVE" general idea and--this is no less important--great capacity and vitality of figures; a definiteness, not limited by purpose, also has to extend to the character.

The principal rightfulness of exposition--the poor consolation and populeousness of the novel--is in itself not yet a merit, especially when a recapitulating moral outstrips the natural development of a character.

An attempt unrealized remains an attempt, lost among other attempts and claims. The bitterness from unfulfilled hopes and lost opportunities remains our lot.

Yevtushenko most often is content with the correctness of the first layer and with virtues (or vices) which strike the eye at the first encounter, as if forgetting that it is the first. And from it go deep, dig and dig.

The arithmetic nature which seeped into the writer's awareness insists on tokens and signs, but not on substance. Signs of intellectualism, actuality, struggles, dramas and feelings are necessary. Touch on that, this and something else. Not in the text, but in the subtext; not directly but in a round-about maneuver, in an offhand manner. The signs, hints, tokens and traits are necessary and sufficient for an imitation of modern life.

If literature is created by this method, it is UNSUBSTANTIATED, not endowed with serious meaning or authentic knowledge. Such literature ceases to be a boon and automatically sows seeds of indifference, just as do loudness and high-sounding words not backed up by action, deeds or exacting thought.

As if intentionally focusing on the features of imaginary literature, "Yagodnyye mesta" was made its encyclopedia, and in this quality it is not devoid of instructiveness.

I would like to believe that the author himself will learn the first lesson from the novel. Much depends on it: belong only to the "stage covered" or find oneself a worthy place in a new stage.

7

When the smoke cleared Grushnitskiy was not on the platform.

M. Lermontov

It is easier for me than for those who wrote earlier about "Yagodnyye mesta"--1½ years have passed since the journal publication. It is a sufficient time period in order to reread the novel again unhurriedly and see how it correlates with time, realizing that G. Semenov and Yu. Surovtsev commented on it under a fresh impression.

The arithmetic nature is to the detriment of talent but it happens that it is to the author's benefit by helping gain favor from some of the critics and publishers.

Complimentary criticism is no less calculating than arithmetic prose, and it isn't yet known who bears the palm. One thing can be asserted with all definiteness: criticism of that sort contributes to a strengthening of such literature.

The system of "two opinions of one book" which is widespread in review practice and by means of which a golden medium is established is capable of tempting some novelists by inspiring them with the hope of creative development in narrative prose. Or the unfading example of the article-yoke: in order to praise (or scold) writer (poet, critic) A, it is necessary to praise (or scold) writer (poet, critic) B. That allegedly is how objectivity is achieved, but more often the monotonous swinging of buckets evokes dreams.

A critic inclined to panegyrics usually praises not for this and that, but for this reason and that reason, because it is "necessary," "reasonable," "advisable," and advantageous (from various viewpoints, from the frankly group view to the elevated indoctrinational view). The logic of eyewash, albeit involuntary, is set in motion. The matter will not be held up by self-justification, and respectable outer appearances will be assured. Luxurious garments will be extolled even when the king is naked. (What if no one learns about this lamentable fact? Will it be successfully muffled by the crash of kettledrums?)

Oh, the ever-present critic's passion for sonorous words! At every trifle it is a "novel of the soul," "a new turn of the genre," "portrait suites" and "lyricized epos"...

You read in Surovtsev's review about ethical maximalism and think about esthetic minimalism. The review quotes two paragraphs--a sample of "quality

artistic prose. Precise. Stylistically capacious..." In the first paragraph: "The person of our thoughts is at the bonfire..." In the second: "...The fire began to mold face after face out of the dense darkness." In short, even the fire didn't disgrace itself...

"Yevgeniy Yevtushenko never was in the rear guard of moral and artistic exploration although he did not always satisfy exacting taste with the results of his searches. 'Yagodnyye mesta' much more strongly proves the first part of this sentence, although in some way it also confirms the correctness of the second part.

"We won't dwell on this second part. We will be grateful to the author for the strong aspects of his work."

It is impossible to understand from the review how the novel confirms the second part; Surovtsev presents no complaints on "Yagodnyye mesta" along taste lines. The expression "exacting taste" appeared in the finale without any substantiation, only to announce that it is not worthwhile dwelling on this and to allow the critic to express gratitude "for the strong aspects."

But the obligation of criticism is to "dwell" on the weaknesses and deficiencies; in art they are not always compensated and outbalanced by the "strong aspects" and at times are capable of reducing them to naught. This is even more obvious if we couple the "poet's prose" not only with his previous poetry, but also with reality and engage in what complimentary glorification fears very strongly.

"Criticism by omission" is also often related to panegyric criticism. Now it is substantiated in the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "In every such instance we were guided not by the fear of offending a particular deserving author but by the hope that this failure is nothing more than an uncharacteristic episode in the writer's creative biography and that after it will come new works much more worthy of the reader's interest and a critical literary examination."

Perhaps at times such a view actually is justified, but how is one to determine how typical or atypical this episode is when "deserving authors" are doomed to the critics' glorification or in the worst instance to "criticism by omission," which easily can be considered a form of encouragement out of sincere simplicity? "Criticism by omission" has become so widely entrenched that it has begun to inspire uneasiness.

"A few years ago while speaking at a discussion of a youth exhibit I asked: Why don't people write about poor artists, for there are appalling works? The critics explained to me that if we don't write about the poor ones--don't write, don't write...--they will disappear of themselves and after some time they won't even be recalled. This explanation seemed to me to be noteworthy and I impatiently awaited this moment. Suddenly it turned out that they not only had not disappeared, but appallingly had bred, occupied privileged places, are active and are shown kindnesses in all areas."

That's not a voice from another neighborhood; it is from the neighboring shop: prominent artists were discussing problems of criticism on the threshold of their 6th Congress. Why not heed them? The more so as they speak about what is for some reason not customarily mentioned.

"With regard to my personal relationships with criticism, either because of age or for some other reasons I fell into the caste of 'untouchables,' into a group of artists who are praised almost always and almost for everything, no matter what they did. They are praised. . . . Of course, like any other person, I don't like rebukes but I realize that pure glorification is of no use to anyone--either to one who writes that way or to the one about whom it is written."

In the final account it is most often that both the author and literature lose from "criticism by omission." Should we wait for the grilled rooster that comes down from his perch and the next "victim" of "criticism by omission" to consolidate in an awareness of his own truth and the validity of his chosen direction?

At all times good and bad works have emerged, a "deserving author" suddenly suffered a fiasco and someone no one knew won a victory. This has nothing to do with criticism, but criticism is capable of honestly determining the situation in the arts by separating true values from false, comprehending the sources of successes and failures, and possibly foreseeing some things. This is not so little.

True literature (every book included in it does not necessarily give rise to universal agreement and is capable of serving as a subject of a critical study) does not "kill off" false literature; it doesn't even repulse the readers' interest in it or the viewers' interest in some false film. It is better not to flatter oneself on this score. But a direct comparison of a real, truthful story with a counterfeit painted as the truth forces the latter to pale even in the eyes of not the most exacting booklover.

...Literature is too obligatory a matter to make do in it with arithmetic and other not inoffensive undertakings, incidentally bringing criticism down to the position of a tacit contemplator or an enthusiastic complimenter.

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LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Review

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by writer: "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Diary: Reading Journals: A Measure of Exactness"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Excerpt] In reading journals one encounters another problem, although more rarely--the critic's attempt to expose the author being reviewed in literally

all mortal sins. That happened in particular in the article "About the Benefit and Harm of Arithmetic" published in No 10 of the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY.

The author of this article, V. Kardin, is an experienced critic and some of his specific opinions about Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's novel "Yagodnyye mesta" sound well-reasoned. The first novel by the well-known author is in fact not free of serious deficiencies. It is the critic's direct duty to point out these shortcomings and uncover their roots with a clear understanding of the creative principles and tasks which guided the writer.

Kardin's chief miscalculation is, in our opinion, that in going very cap-
tiously into the details and specifics of the work the critic seemed to lose sight of (or decided to lose sight of) the basic inspiration of the novel "Yagodnyye mesta" and didn't notice Yevtushenko's attempt to respond to pressing problems with the word of an artist and writer. We will repeat for clarity that Yevtushenko didn't succeed in everything and perhaps in far from everything. This has to be said and the criticism still has to weigh the real merits and real deficiencies of the novel, but this can be done only if one proceeds from the overall sound and overall orientation of the work as a whole and not from prejudiced ideas about it...

In our literature of recent years the novel "Yagodnyye mesta" is not the only complicated, internally contradictory work which generated active reader interest and was accompanied by arguments and the clash of contradictory opinions and judgements. It is fully understandable that the attention of a mass audience also is drawn by critics' reviews of such works, but they are fruitful only when a critic who rejects an unquestionable tone and unequivocal descriptions attempts to delve deeply into the inspiration and essence of the book being analyzed, enter into an interested dialogue not only with readers, but also with the writer, and help him in the artistic attainment of our contemporary reality. This same discussion can prove to be offensively unjust when the movement of critical thought is subordinated to a priori patterns which objectively impoverish and distort the real complexity both of a specific work and of the whole literary process. We will emphasize once again that principle and exactingness in criticism have nothing in common with prejudice and willfulness, just as the balanced literary-critical evaluations based on strict criteria do not and cannot have anything in common either with unceremonious scoldings or with unceremonious compliments.

The question of which is worse and which is more harmful--to praise a work beyond all measure or utterly dress it down--is wittingly illegal. Both are identically bad and identically harmful in the eyes of readers and the literary public, which expect from criticism a sensitivity and accuracy, constructive inspiration and comradely exactingness, and a high sense of responsibility for each published word. The tone in our journal criticism must be set by articles, reviews, criticisms and polemics in which the authors' party passion is combined with their deep competency and where the desire to synchronize literature with life and with classic examples opens up new horizons in assimilating the ideological-artistic wealth of socialist culture.

BOOK ON MOTHERS' LEGAL PRIVILEGES REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 4: GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 83 (signed to press 20 Sep 83) pp 127-131

[Review by Ye. V. Klinova of book "L'goty zhenshchinam-materyam" [Benefits to Mothers] by M. N. Yeliseyenkova, Znaniye, Moscow, 1982, 64 pp ("Novoye v zhizni, nauke, tekhnike. Ser. 'Gosudarstvo i pravo'" [What's New in Life, Science, Technology. Series "The State and the Law"], 1982, [No] 9)]

[Text] The work is devoted to a description of the rights of working women in our country. The author considers the overall guarantees of women's working rights: the special guarantees providing women with favorable working conditions; the steps to protect the labor of pregnant women and mothers who are nursing infants or who have young children; steps to intensify state aid to families having children; and pension security for women.

The equal-rights status of men and women in various fields of life has been guaranteed by the 1977 USSR Constitution (Article 35). This pertains first of all to the right to receive education and occupational training; the right to work and to receive compensation for it and to get job promotions. In addition, the Constitution stipulates special measures to protect the labor and health of women, to protect motherhood and childhood, and to create the conditions that enable women to combine labor in the national economy with motherhood. The author considers the principles contained in the Fundamentals of the Legislation of the USSR and the union republics concerning labor, the KZot RSFSR [RSFSR Labor Code], which pertain to the legal regulation of women's labor. The work also analyzes the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers that are aimed at assisting women to combine motherhood with participation in social productions; at the further development of the network of children's institutions; at providing material support for children of school age (the improvement of the school system and extended-day groups, boarding schools, Young Pioneer camps); etc. A considerable amount of attention in the work is devoted to the measures taken by the Communist Party and the Soviet government to protect the health of women and the child.

In the chapter about the general guarantees of working rights, the author dwells in detail on an analysis of the legal guarantees upon hiring, when being transferred to another job, and upon dismissal. Legislation that is in effect bans the unjustified refusal to hire a person, the limitation of rights, the establishment of hiring advantages based on sex, nationality, race, or

attitude toward religion. It is only if there are sufficient grounds (the lack of any vacancies, the lack of available work sites) that the management has the right to refuse to hire anyone. The work considers the special norms that stipulate the creation of advantages for women who enter the job market. Those norms, in particular, have as their purpose the protection of the rights of pregnant women and nursing mothers.

A transfer to another job is allowed with the consent of the worker or employee. Allowable exceptions are made for temporary transfers -- a transfer based on production necessity, in the event of equipment idle time, for reasons of health, or for reasons of violation of labor discipline.

The author dwells in detail on the question of dismissals. She considers the abrogation of the labor contract on the initiative of the worker or employee, and on the initiative of the management. The management, in particular, does not have the right to dismiss pregnant women, nursing mothers, or women with children who are less than a year old. Dismissal of these categories of workers is allowed in the event of the complete elimination of enterprises, but with mandatory location of another job. As a rule, the abrogation of the labor contract on the initiative of the management is carried out with the prior consent of the trade union.

The special guarantees that provide women with favorable working conditions in conformity with the labor legislation include the ban on the use of women's labor in heavy types of work or in operations involving harmful working conditions, or in subterranean operations; the ban of women's labor in operations that involve the carrying of heavy loads. The book considers the List of Production Entities, Occupations, and Operations With Heavy and Harmful Working Conditions in Which the Application of Women's Labor is Banned, which was approved in 1978. The book analyzes the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU that were enacted in recent years and that are aimed at the protection of the health of working women.

The rights granted to women to work an incomplete work day or an incomplete work week under the conditions of socialism is a measure that is aimed at improving the working and everyday living conditions of women. This type of work enables a working woman to devote more attention to bringing up the children and to her family. The author considers the procedure and conditions for the application of the labor performed by women who have children and who work an incomplete work day or work week, which procedure and conditions are stipulated in the Fundamentals of the Legislation on Labor (Article 26) and KZoT RSFSR (Article 49).

The labor legislation stipulates special working conditions for pregnant women and nursing mothers: the limitation of nighttime and overtime work, and of work on regular days off; the transfer of pregnant women and nursing mothers to lighter work; maternity leave; work breaks to nurse the child.

An important role in improving the social status of women belongs to the additional measures to intensify the state's assistance to families having children, which measures were adopted in our country in recent years in conformity with the program set down by the 26th CPSU Congress. The work deals in detail with

the 22 January 1981 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Steps to Intensify State Assistance to Families Having Children"* and with the other normative acts enacted in development of that decree. The author studies the procedure for the granting to women a partially paid leave and additional unpaid leave to care for newborn and young children. At the present time partially paid leave to care for a child until it has reached the age of one year is being introduced gradually.

The work considers in detail various types of longevity: total and unbroken longevity; work longevity in one's specialty; work longevity in occupations and at production entities with harmful or difficult working conditions; longevity in scientific-pedagogic work; work longevity in areas of the Far North or localities that have been equated with areas of the Far North; and rights and benefits granted to workers in conformity with the type of longevity.

The work emphasizes the large amount of attention that the party and the government have been devoting in recent years to women kolkhoz members.

Women with a large number of children are granted an additional three-day paid leave and a two-week unpaid leave. The state pays a lump-sum grant upon the birth of a child. Since 1981 there has been an increase in the amount of the grant paid to single mothers. Since the late 1970's there has been an improvement in the material support provided to persons who have been invalids since birth. In the 11th Five-Year Plan it is planned to increase the duration of the medical certificate that is to be issued for the period of a child's illness to 14 days.

The work ends with a section that throws light upon the system of pension security for women. That section considers pensions on the basis of the age of workers and employees, pensions based on the age of kolkhoz members, and pensions based on disability. Pensions based on age and disability are paid to women at an earlier age than men, and with a shorter work longevity. Pensions based on age are given to women workers and employees upon attainment of the age of 55 years, with 20 years longevity. The maximum amount of the pension based on age cannot exceed 120 rubles a month, and the minimum cannot be less than 50 rubles a month. Amounts added onto a pension based on age are computed in the amount of 10-20 percent: for continuous work longevity of more than 15 years or for total work longevity no less than 30 years -- 10 percent; for continuous work longevity for female workers having children for 20 years of continuous work longevity at a single enterprise, if they simultaneously have the right to have an increase on their pension for total work longevity -- 20 percent (Article 56). The work considers the conditions for the payment of the 20-percent increase. During recent years there has been an increase in the amounts of various types of pensions. The program that has been planned by the 26th CPSU Congress for improving the social security system stipulates further measures for improving the conditions that enable women to combine participation in social labor with motherhood, in particular, an increase in the duration and raising of the level of payment for leaves to take care of newborn and young children.

* "SP Primitiv'stva SSSR" (Collection of Decrees of the USSR Government), Moscow, 1981, No. 13, Article 75.

NATIONAL

PUBLIC OPINION DEPT HEAD, SOCIAL STUDIES INSTITUTE, ON SCHOOL REFORM

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 84 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by V. Korobeynikov, head of the Department of Public Opinion of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Social Studies, on the results of opinion polls conducted in Moscow, Ufa, Kirov, Kuybyshev, Vyaz'ma and the Vladimirskaya Oblast 2 months after publication of the CPC's School Reform Project. According to the data, 90 percent of adults (18 years or older) had acquainted themselves with the project, 42 percent saw a need to correct or amend it, of whom nearly 10 percent thought it needed thorough revision, 4 percent thought no reform was needed, 95 percent supported the idea of combining study with useful labor (the author says this near unanimity stems from the people's notion that combining study and labor is a good way to overcome political naivete, stunted civil awareness, overdependence and the lack in a certain segment of young people of the desire to work where society most needs laborers), 64 percent approve of lowering the age limits for entering certain professions, as versus 23 percent who are against this (in the latter group were many from 18-25 years of age). Most widely discussed were the two problems of children beginning school at six and of adding another year to the general education period. With respect to the former, positive opinions were given by 61 percent of men and 49 percent of women; negative opinions were obtained from 42 percent of women and 29 percent of men (about a third of all teachers polled also reacted negatively). Their reasoning was that children are not physically or morally ready for school at the age of six. Mothers and grandmothers reacted especially strongly to this. Moreover, city dwellers, as versus rural dwellers, tended to side with the mothers and grandmothers in this (suggesting that rural children achieve a degree of independence earlier than city kids). The additional year of study idea split opinion nearly equally, with those opposing approving constituting only a 7-percent majority, among whom there tended to be more men and young people under 20 years of age. Women and those with only a secondary education perponderated among those with a negative opinion.

"The period of public discussion is now drawing to a close, and there is no doubt that the ideas expressed will be widely used in the final revision of the project." The author notes an atmosphere of assuredness, optimism and great expectation in all the public debate on the project. Ninety-three percent think the reform will aid in attracting the younger generation to involvement in productive labor; 82 percent are sure it will raise the prestige of teachers; 75 percent think it will ensure a level of knowledge necessary for students to continue their education in institutions of higher learning.

REGIONAL

MOLDAVIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM TO DISCUSS DECREE

Decree on Moldavian CP Outlined

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 5 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "Decree of the 12th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee on 3 February 1984 Concerning the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Decree 'Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum'"]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report of First Secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Comrade S. K. Grossu "Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Decree 'Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum'," the plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee notes with deep satisfaction that the CPSU Central Committee decree was welcomed by communists and all workers of the republic as a manifestation of great attention by the Leninist CPSU Central Committee to the life of Moldavia's party organization and to tireless concern for accelerating development of the productive and spiritual forces of the region, and as an urgent action program mobilized for solving immediate tasks and for achieving new successes in communist construction.

In the CPSU Central Committee decree it was noted that the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's party organizations, guided by the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Central Committee Plenums and the instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, are improving the style and methods of their activities. The party committees began to show more creative exploration, efficiency and purposefulness in managing the national economy and the communist upbringing of workers and in resolving key economic and social problems and achieving high final results.

At the same time, the conclusion was drawn correctly in the CPSU Central Committee decree that radical improvement in the style of activities of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's party organizations has not occurred for the time being. Many party committees are acting under their own momentum and as before are gravitating towards paperwork methods of management. At times the energies of the active party membership and the party apparatus are wasted on

developing stereotyped plans and declarative decisions, and the execution of which is not provided for in the proper manner. Effective measures were not taken to really affirm the party and business-like style in activities of the republic's council of ministers, ministries and departments. There are many serious deficiencies in the work of the ministries of the meat and dairy industry, the fruit and vegetable economy, land reclamation and water resources, housing and municipal services (the ministers are comrades A. I. Tiunov, V. N. Bardash, V. N. Oleksich and N. V. Polozhenko) and Moldavpotrebsoyuz [Moldavian Union of Consumers Societies] (chairman of the board is comrade P. D. Kostin).

The party committees are not deeply analyzing the processes occurring in economics and are not providing a comprehensive solution to problems of intensifying public production. Quotas are not being fulfilled systematically for growth of labor productivity and assimilation of new equipment and manufacturing processes in a number of industrial enterprises, agriculture and construction; and the struggle for economy and thrift and strengthening socialist labor discipline did not receive proper scope.

Capital investments in agriculture were used unsatisfactorily, production plans were not fulfilled, and considerable debts to the state were allowed for purchases of principal items of agricultural production. The republic did not come up to the planned production growth rates for gross production in agriculture and stock breeding, and the Faleshtskiy, Sorokskiy, Brichanskiy, Lazovskiy, Glodyanskiy and Rezinskiy Rayons even reduced gross production by 2 to 9 percent in comparison with the average annual level of the 10th Five-Year Plan. In 1983, Kaushanskiy, Novoanenskiy and a number of other rayons foiled the plans for selling a majority of the items of agricultural production to the state.

Sluggishness is being tolerated in implementing the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for improving the management of agriculture and other sectors of the agroindustrial complex.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms are not showing proper concern in more completely satisfying the needs and inquiries of workers. Plans are not being fulfilled for commodity turnover, domestic services for the public and construction of housing and sites for social and cultural purposes.

Ideological and mass political work is being slowly reorganized in the republic's party organization in compliance with the requirements of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It frequently lacks the necessary acuteness and efficiency and sense of purpose in solving the most important economic and political tasks. Without taking into consideration the features of various categories and groups of the population, moral upbringing, counterpropaganda and work on shaping an internationalist consciousness and atheistic convictions are not being conducted actively enough. The effectiveness of ideological, political and educational work is particularly low in the Ungenskiy, Dondyushanskiy, Kantemirskiy and Ryshkanskiy Rayon party organizations.

Organizing and verifying the implementation of decisions which have been made remain a weak point. Proper exacting requirements of personnel for strictly observing executive discipline and the norms of party ethics is absent. Because of the absence of a comprehensive approach and proper efficiency and purposefulness in executing party and government directives on the part of party gorkoms and raykoms, ministries and departments, lagging was allowed in a number of sectors of the republic's national economy in fulfilling the plans for economic and social development.

Measures were determined in the CPSU Central Committee decree for radically improving the style and methods of organizational and political work for implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and for accomplishing key economic and social tasks.

The Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee /resolves/: [in boldface]

1. To approve wholly and completely the CPSU Central Committee decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party ORganization in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" and to strictly implement and manage it.

2. To make it incumbent upon the Bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms, and party organizations to eliminate the deficiencies noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree; to press more persistently in improving the style and methods of organizational and political work for implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov; and to increase the efficiency of party management of the republic's public life.

And to more resolutely develop and affirm in the activities of the party organizations and of all the republic's management personnel a creative and scientific approach to solving problems which arise and true Leninist efficiency, party principledness, sense of self-criticism, personal responsibility and the ability to rely on the collective mind and experience of the masses; to actively influence their attitude; and to tactfully respond to the inquiries of workers. Also to further intensify work for strengthening state, planning and labor discipline, and order and organization in all sectors and for improving the utilization of working hours.

3. For the Bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, party gorkoms and raykoms, and gor(ray)ispolkoms to take measures for further improving the planning and management of the republic's economic system, improving the style and methods of economic activities, providing a comprehensive solution to the problems of intensification, and increasing the efficiency of public production. To more thoughtfully approach the solution of development and distribution problems of productive forces. To constantly and persistently try to find additional reserves; to efficiently utilize labor, material, raw material, and fuel and energy resources; and to provide for the

SSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and for celebration of the 60th anniversary of formation of the Moldavian SSR and creation of the Moldavian CP.

To intensify peoples' moral upbringing and to wage a resolute struggle with relapses of petty bourgeois psychology, with manifestations of ideology and morality alien to our system, and with religious prejudices. To elevate the role of ideological organizations, the press, radio broadcasts and television in all work being conducted.

7. For the Bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations to constantly improve the style and methods of their activities and to provide for strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and further development of intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and the initiative and responsibility of communists. To strengthen in every way possible the principle of collectivity in work and to improve the practice of conducting plenums, meetings of the bureau of party committees, and party meetings. To strive so that systematic and effective supervision in executing the directives of the party and the government and decisions being made may in fact become the most important aspect of the work of party committees, their apparatus and the active party membership.

To intensify party management of trade unions and the Komsomol and organs of public supervision, to go deeper into the substance of their activities, to render practical assistance, to be more actively drawn to solving worthwhile tasks and to increase authority. While relying on the regulations of the law concerning labor collectives, to strive so that together with the primary party organizations they may skillfully use the most effective forms of drawing in workers in managing production and solving social and everyday matters, may assimilate the best experience in organizing socialist competition of the masses, and may intensify their influence on all aspects of public life.

8. It is also necessary for the Bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and party gorkoms and raykoms to further raise the level of work with personnel, to teach them the Leninist style of activities and to foster a self-critical attitude towards results achieved. It is important to increase the personal responsibility of all managers for observing party, state and executive discipline and for accomplishing matters entrusted for the party and the people. It is necessary to resolutely stop manifestations of conceit and rudeness and to exact severely from those who follow the road of deceiving the state and who tolerate the abuse of an official position, inability to run a business, and violation of party ethics and morality.

9. To affirm the measures of the Moldavian CP Central Committee for implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee."

To examine progress in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree at the plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee during the first quarter of 1985.

The Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee assures the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo Central Committee that communists and all workers of the republic will do everything necessary for fulfilling the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum," tasks which result from the decisions of the December 1983 Central Committee Plenum, and principal propositions and conclusions contained in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, and they will strive for new successes in communist construction.

Grossu Speech at Plenum

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 5 Feb 84 pp 2-3

[Article: "Report of First Secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Comrade S. K. Grossu at the Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum on 3 February 1984 on the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Decree 'Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum'"--Abridged]

[Text] Comrades!

On 6 December of last year, the CPSU Central Committee examined the matter "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" and approved the appropriate decree. You are familiar with the contents of this exceptionally important document.

The CPSU Central Committee decree was addressed to all party committees of our party, that is to say, it has general party importance. Its basic point, as stated in a "PRAVDA" editorial, is to improve the style and methods of organizational and political work with greater persistence in implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and to raise the effectiveness of party management of public life.

For us the CPSU Central committee decree is a basic and fundamental document which defines the main working trends over a long period. It is perceived just this way by the republic's communists and all workers who see in it an expression of the party's tireless concern about accelerating the development of Moldavia's productive and spiritual forces and improving the activities of the republic's party organization in managing the economic, cultural construction and ideological and political upbringing of people.

Henceforth all party committees and party organizations of the Moldavian CP will build their work in compliance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee decree and with its argued conclusions and aims oriented towards strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and every possible improvement of the working style in each sector.

It was noted in the CPSU Central committee decree that the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's party organizations, while following the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the directions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, is improving the style and methods of it's activities. The party committees have begun to show more creative exploration, efficiency and purposefulness in managing the national economy and educating the workers, in solving key economic and social tasks and in achieving high final results. They are concentrating their efforts on working directly with people locally, they reduced the number of meetings and decrees being adopted, and are striving to raise their effectiveness.

Serious attention is being given to improving the work style and methods in party organizations of Sovetskiy Rayon of the republic's capital. The party raykom (First Secretary Comrade V. M. Tkachenko) put the conduct of conferences and meetings in good order, considerably reduced the number of decisions being made, and began to study more deeply matters being submitted to the bureau and not to tolerate the adoption of repetitive decrees. Thanks to the proper formulation of organizational and political work and efficient utilization of the available economic potential by party organizations, in 1983 Sovetskiy Rayon repeatedly came out the winner in republic and city competition for successful fulfillment of production plans and socialist pledges.

The work style of the Orgeyev party raykom (First Secretary Comrade A. S. Kishlar') is also characterized by a sense of initiative and a well thought-out approach to matters. It skillfully relies on the primary party organizations and the initiative and erudition of economic managers and specialists, gives evidence of exacting requirements of personnel, and orients them towards all possible utilization of leading experience and the achievements of science. In 1983, the rayon's fulfillment of state plans and socialist pledges for all items of agricultural production except sugar beets is evidence of the fruitfulness of these efforts.

The Bendery gorkom, the Slobodzeya, Dubossary, Grigoriopol and a number of other party raykoms achieved outstanding results as well with the style of their activities in competition. As a result, party life was made more active and the militancy of the primary party organizations, among which there are quite a number of true leaders, organizers and educators of labor collectives, was raised.

The party organization of the "Vibroprigor" industrial association (Comrade V. G. Ivan'kov, party committee secretary) is striving successfully for unity of organizational, ideological, political and economic work. The struggle for intensifying executive and labor discipline and raising organization, accuracy and efficiency in the work of personnel, and concern for the professional and spiritual growth of the people are assumed as a basis for its activities.

The work of the party organization of the kolkhoz imeni S. M. Kirov of the Ryshkanskiy Rayon (Ya. F. Nenesku, party organization secretary) and a number of others is characterized by these qualities.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree, intensifying the influence of primary party organizations on the life and affairs of labor collectives promoted the growth of labor and political activity of workers and made it possible to ensure overfulfillment of industrial production plans and to conduct harvesting operations in an organized manner. The republic is outstripping the quotas of the five-year plan in the production of national income and in the growth rates of production volumes and labor productivity in industry. Positive changes have occurred in agriculture. The production and purchases of meat, milk, eggs and wool have increased. Industrial processing methods for the cultivation of corn, sunflowers and sugar beets are being assimilated on a broad scale. Studies are being conducted for strain renovation and mechanization of labor-intensive processes in viticulture, horticulture and vegetable-growing.

/At the same time, it was indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree that radical improvement in the style of activities of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's party organizations has not occurred for the time being./ [in boldface] Many party committees are acting under their own momentum and as before are gravitating towards paperwork methods of management. At times the energies of the most active elected members are wasted on developing stereotyped plans and declarative decisions, the execution of which is not provided for in the proper manner.

While accepting this evaluation as completely fair, it should be recognized that the Moldavian CP Central Committee and its bureau do not always achieve the necessary concentration of energies and attention of the republic's party organization on the main trends of the republic's economic, social and cultural development; poorly utilize the resources of the collective forms of party management and the collective thought of the people for these purposes; and are conducting insufficient work for completely overcoming the substitution and duplication of state and economic organs for party committees.

The secretariat and the departments of the central committee are not fully providing supervision of the actual implementation of decisions being made, do not always make proper exacting requirements of personnel for strict observance of executive discipline and the norms of party life, and do not assist the gorkoms and raykoms enough in self-critically analyzing and improving their activities with regard to tasks confronting the republic. As a result of these omissions, some party committees are now showing the necessary persistence and purposefulness in improving the style and methods of organizational and political work and they are tolerating serious deficiencies in party management of economic and cultural construction.

The Leovo party raykom did not reorganize its work following the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The raykom bureau is handling the situation poorly in the rayon, is not relying on the primary party organizations, is poorly involved in the selection, placement and education of personnel, and is not waging the proper struggle with violations of party ethics and various abuses. Comrade M. A. Budishtyan, first secretary of the party raykom, did not self-critically evaluate his activities, is relying poorly on the active membership and shows inconsistency in solving problems. For a long time, the rayon essentially has been marking time in economic development. Last year almost all production plans and sales of agricultural products to the state were ruined here.

At different times, the work of Ungeny, Glodyany and Kotovsk party raykoms (First Secretaries Comrades A. V. Delev, D. S. Chebotar' and M. D. Zorika) was severely criticized. There were impressive reasons for that. For example, for 3 years of the five-year plan the gross production of agriculture and stock breeding in Glodyanskiy and Ungenskiy Rayons not only did not increase, but was even reduced by 6 percent. Last year Kotovski Rayon ruined the plans for selling the majority of agricultural production items to the state. An analysis of the reasons for these breakdowns in the plans shows that a low level of party management of the economic system, not very exacting requirements of personnel, and their inadequate self-criticism is the basis of them.

/It was pointed out in the CPSU Central committee decree that the Moldavian CP Central Committee did not take effective measures for affirming a genuine party and business-like style in activities of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and the republic's ministries and departments and for overcoming formal and bureaucratic methods of management./ [in boldface] This kind of conclusion results first and foremost from serious deficiencies in the work of the republic's administrative organs.

The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and its presidium are doing a poor job of demanding that managers of ministries and departments observe state discipline, are showing liberalism in respect to personnel who are not carrying out their instructions, at times run away from independently solving complex national economic problems, and are not conducting sufficient work for reducing the turnover of paperwork and improving the implementation of decisions which were made. Individual ministries, including Minplodoovoshchkhov [Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry], Minmyasomolprom [Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry], Minpishcheprom [Ministry of the Food Industry] and Minpromstroymaterialov [Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry] are tolerating breakdowns in fulfilling the state plans and are implementing measures incompletely and with violations of established deadlines in developing sectors specified in compliance with party and state directives.

Some ministries are not fully utilizing the rights granted to them, at times are managing the organization poorly, are not making sufficiently exacting requirements of personnel for carrying out their orders, are solving problems in a poor manner in the social development of labor collectives in subdepartmental

organizations and are not always consistent and persistent in implementing tasks which are posed. In recent years at plenums of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, Comrades N. V. Polozhenko, V. N. Bardash, N. I. Uzun, A. I. Tiunov and several others were seriously criticized for these kinds or similar deficiencies.

Many of the republic's ministries and departments are being freed slowly from the captivity of paperwork and are continuing to be carried away with written instructions and orders and the conduct of every possible kind of conferences and meetings. Last year, the Ministry of Local Industry (Minister Comrade A. V. Nechayenko) dispatched nearly 2,000 documents, of which only 4 percent were taken by workers of the organization for supervision, to subdepartmental organizations. For last year, the Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance (Minister Comrade I. S. Bolbat) circulated around its enterprises over 7,000, or 634 more than in 1982, of every kind of circulars, directives, instructions on methods, and plans. Cases of the illegal introduction of supplementary accountability and reporting by almost all ministries can also serve as an example of formal and bureaucratic methods of management.

The aspiration of a number of ministries and departments to connect in party committees in solving problems of an economic, operational and management nature, which are completely within the competence of state and economic organs, is fallacious as well in its basis. Thus, Comrade V. N. Oleksich, the minister of land reclamation and water resources, made a request that all party raykoms oblige appropriate agricultural organs to provide timely preparation for the season of land irrigation. Comrade V. M. Yukin, the minister of consumer services, asked in his letter that they render practical assistance to consumer services enterprises in preparation for work during the fall and winter period. Comrade I. D. Bodur, deputy chairman of the Moldavpotrebsoyuz [Moldavian SSR Union of Consumers' Societies] administration, sent information to all party raykoms on the progress of purchases of secondary raw materials for taking measures in fulfilling the established state plans.

The council of ministers and the managers of ministries and departments must resolutely change the style of their activities; renounce to the end the abstract, formal and bureaucratic method; show more efficiency and creativity in work; constantly give attention to implementing directives of the party and the government and rendering practical assistance locally; and provide for concentration of the energies and attention of the administrative system on raising the efficiency and level of management, more completely utilizing the available production, scientific and technical potential and material, labor and financial resources, and fulfilling the state plans and quotas. Comrade I. G. Ustiyon, deputy chairman of the council of ministers, must increase operativeness and efficiency in the work of the republic's presidium of the council of ministers, intensify the management of progress in implementing decisions made by the collective organs, and achieve more rapid elimination of deficiencies in the work of state institutions.

It is necessary for the bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee to raise the level of activities of the republic's ministries and departments and the entire administrative organization. While following the Leninist instructions that the machinery of soviet administration must work accurately, efficiently and rapidly,

and whereas the CPSU Central Committee decree demands this, [it is necessary] to eradicate manifestations of order of seniority, officialism, bureaucratism and red tape.

The CPSU Central Committee noted in its decree that /party committees are not deeply analyzing the processes occurring in the economic system and are not providing a comprehensive solution to the problems of intensifying public production and necessary proportionality in the development of sectors of the economy./ [in boldface]

The serious deficiencies which exist in the republic in developing industry, agriculture, capital construction, transportation and communications and in fulfilling production plans and quotas convincingly confirm the correctness of this evaluation of our activities.

Take a most important matter such as increasing labor productivity. In 1983, almost every fifth industrial association and enterprise did not fulfill the plan according to this indicator, but the growth rate of wages outstripped the rate of increase of labor productivity in every second enterprise of the ministries of light industry, construction materials industry, and procurement and in every third enterprise of the ministries of construction, rural construction, and agriculture.

There are serious deficiencies as well in the utilization of capacities. For example, capacities put in operation as far back as 1976 at the Kishinev plant of everyday chemistry are being utilized by only 70-74 percent. They are also no more loaded at the Chadyr-Lunga experimental and Faleshty machine building plants, at the Kishinev refrigerator plant and a number of others.

There are considerable gaps and omissions as well in the matter of assimilating new equipment. Last year more than half the ministries and departments did not provide for fulfilling this indicator.

The party committees are obliged to more rapidly eliminate deficiencies in the development of industrial production; to strengthen considerably the work for its intensification; to achieve better utilization of funds, capacities, and all key growth factors of labor productivity; to wage a resolute struggle for increasing discipline and organization and for economy and thrift; and to intensify the demand from those who are directly responsible for solving problems of assimilating the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

All party work in material production must be aimed at providing for implementation of the main task--fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1984 plans and the five-year plan as a whole by every labor collective in accordance with all technical and economic indicators--and at achieving a labor productivity increase of 1 percent above the plan and a reduction in production cost of 0.5 percent, and regarding this as a supplementary task of the party.

There are many resources for achieving this goal. The most important among them is better utilization of new and progressive forms for organizing and

stimulating labor. Although we already have more than 80 percent of the workers involved with them according to the statistics given, but, as it was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree, /the managers of many labor collectives are not properly engaged in assimilating the brigade contract on the basis of cost accounting./ [in boldface]

There are more than 22 percent of the small brigades at the republic's enterprises with a force up to 5 persons. Only half of the workers in the brigades are working with a wage based on final results. Only 14.7 percent of the workers in the agricultural brigades are working in accordance with the unified order.

It is necessary for the party and trade union organizations and the economic managers and specialists to persistently develop and improve the brigade forms of labor and on this basis to achieve an increase in its productivity, the creation of a healthy moral and psychological climate in the collectives, and growth in the gross production of output and its quality. It is necessary to strengthen party influence in brigades, to create party groups in them where conditions allow, and to direct their activities towards developing labor and public activity and educating members of the collective in high labor discipline and responsibility.

It was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree that /the Moldavian SSR must make a heavier contribution towards implementing the USSR food program./ [in boldface]

It should be noted that the republic's party, soviet and economic organs did not achieve radical improvement in utilization of the economic potential created in the rural area and are not conducting sufficient work for improving the structure and raising the culture of farming. The Moldavian CP Central Committee's department of agriculture and food industry does not always deeply analyze the activities of the agrarian ministries and departments, is not making sufficiently exacting requirements of personnel for the observance of executive discipline, and is assisting the party raykoms very little in improving the style and methods of their work for implementing the agrarian program.

Many farms are not fulfilling the production plans and they have considerable debts to the state for purchases of principal items of agricultural production. The republic did not come out in the planned production growth rates for gross production in farming and stock breeding, and such rayons as Faleshtskiy, Sorokskiy, Brichanskiy, Lazovski and Rezinskiy even reduced the gross production by 2-9 percent in comparison with the average annual level of the previous five-year plan.

The Kaushanskiy Rayon began to lag behind noticeably. During the 3 years of the current five-year plan in comparison with the previous one, grain production in the rayon decreased by 24 percent, sunflower production by 8 percent, vegetables by 4 percent and meat by 20 percent. In 1983, only the plans for sales of wool and potatoes to the state were fulfilled. The party raykom

(First Secretary Comrade V. S. Nezhivoy) is slowly reorganizing its work in the spirit of the demands of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The organizational, political and educational work being conducted by the rayon's party organization is being poorly coordinated with the solution of key tasks for developing agricultural production, and it is insufficiently aimed at providing efficient utilization of resources for intensifying agriculture.

The indicators have become worse in Novoanenskiy Rayon. For the last 3 years, it had a shortfall of 56,000 tons of fruit, 28,000 tons of vegetables, 5,500 tons of meat and many other products. The party raykom (First Secretary Comrade I. P. Bulat) is not demanding enough towards farm managers and specialists in fulfilling the plans and it is showing a liberal attitude towards personnel who are allowed to abuse their official position and violate the norms of party morality.

The Sholdaneshtskiy, Dondyushanskiy and other rayons are seriously lagging behind as well in fulfilling the production plans and sales of agricultural production.

The agrarian ministries and departments in the republic bear primary responsibility for the state of affairs in farming and stock breeding and for fulfillment of the plans for selling production to the state. The Moldavian SSR Council of Kolkhozes heads the largest system--the kolkhoz-cooperative one--of public production in the rural area. In 1983, the kolkhozes and intereconomic enterprises received a 488 million ruble profit. The profitability level was 32 percent.

However, the kolkhozes did not fulfill the plans for three years of the current five-year plan in the production of agricultural output. The main reason lies in the fact that measures for intensifying production and raising its efficiency are not being implemented at many farms in a sufficiently active manner, the culture of farming and stock breeding is low, and the achievements of science and leading experience and the progressive forms of labor organization are being poorly assimilated. There are many lagging kolkhozes and intereconomic enterprises in the system.

The Moldavian SSR Council of Kolkhozes (Chairman Comrade V. A. Ryabchich), which bears direct responsibility for this, still has not reorganized its work in the spirit of the demands of the May and November 1982 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee; is tolerating bureaucratic administration, unnecessary regulation and petty guardianship of kolkhozes; and is not showing proper attention to matters for improving the structure of production and management. On account of inadequate supervision on its part of the work of rayon kolkhoz soviets, some of them have lost touch with live organizational matters, they are not sufficiently learning the needs and inquiries of the farms, and they turned their specialists from production organizers into compilers of information and summaries of various kinds.

It is essential for the council of kolkhozes to eliminate these serious deficiencies in its work without delay and to provide for accelerated development of the kolkhoz-cooperative system of production.

A considerable portion of the production of agricultural output falls on the system of the republic's Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry. However, it should be noted that the board of this ministry did not provide for more complete utilization of the resources of agroindustrial integration for considerably increasing production and improving the supply of vegetables, fruits, berries, potatoes and melons to workers and it did not achieve stable fulfillment of the state plans by its farms. During 3 years of the five-year plan, 203 million rubles less than the output plan were received.

The resources of the republic's Ministry of Viticulture and Winemaking are far from being settled as well. Although it also fulfilled the plans for the 3 years in the production and processing of grapes, it however had a shortfall of 42 million rubles in other agricultural production. Measures are being slowly implemented by the ministry for the concentration and high quality specialization of viticulture, an increase in the production of high quality grapes with early ripening periods for processing and table purposes, and in increase in the sector's efficiency.

The republic's Ministry of Agriculture has powerful scientific and production potential at its disposal. While utilizing it efficiently, during 3 years of the five-year plan the ministry's sovkhozes fulfilled the plan by 103 percent for meat, by 106 percent for high quality seeds and by 110 percent for vegetables in sales to the state. At the same time, at all its farms the ministry is far from providing for a high level of production and growth of the yielding capacity of crops and the productivity of stock breeding, it is conducting work poorly in assimilating the planned capacities of swine-breeding complexes and poultry factories, and it is slowly implementing measures for introducing into production high-yielding varieties and hybrids of grain, industrial and fodder crops, as well as highly productive strains of cattle and poultry.

The steady development of agriculture under the republic's conditions is connected to a considerable extent with solving the problem of irrigation. The state allocates large capital investments for these purposes, however, they are being assimilated poorly: for 3 years of the five-year plan 31 million rubles were under-assimilated and the plan for putting irrigated lands into operation was fulfilled by only 75 percent.

The situation which was created reflects the level and style of work of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. Minister Comrade V. N. Oleksich and his deputies are flooding the directive organs with paperwork instead of a specific matter and thought-out and purposeful management of the sector, and they keep on assuring the central committee that a sudden change in water resources construction is just about to set in.

We must draw serious conclusions from the criticism of the CPSU Central Committee on the problems of developing irrigated farming. The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources must implement those measures which would provide for unconditionally fulfilling the quotas of the five-year plan. It is incumbent upon the

party raykoms and rayispolkoms to radically revise its attitude towards water resources construction. The Ministries of Construction, Rural Construction, Kolkhozstroy [Kolkhoz Construction], the Ministry of Motor Transport and others must live up the work considerably at these projects.

The task of all agrarian ministries and departments is to improve by far the utilization of land, equipment, fertilizer and irrigation; to enhance cultivation of the fields; and to achieve strict observance of the demands of agricultural practices, general assimilation of industrial manufacturing methods, new forms of labor organization and, on this basis, a sharp increase in the yielding capacity of all agricultural crops. In order to provide for unconditional fulfillment of the production plans and the sale of agricultural production to the state, it is necessary for the agrarian ministries and departments, party and soviet organs, and farm managers and specialists to wage a persistent struggle in 1984 for obtaining a harvest of 38.5 quintals per hectare of grain crops, 18 quintals of sunflowers, 330 quintals of sugar beets, 15 quintals of tobacco, 183 quintals of vegetables, 83 quintals of fruit and 70 quintals of grapes per hectare.

There also are responsible tasks in the area of stock breeding. Under the national economic plan we are faced with selling the state 310,000 tons of meat--that is 5.7 percent more than was actually sold in 1983--and 850,000 tons of milk in the current year.

A powerful material and technical base was created in this sector. However, as was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee decree, the stock breeding complexes are being utilized by only 60-70 percent. They are particularly underloaded in Kantemirskiy, Kaushanskiy and Lazovskiy Rayons. For example, over the last 2 years in Kantemirskiy Rayon nearly 2,000 stalls stood empty at the cattle-fattening complex.

Resources created for the development of dairy stock breeding are being poorly utilized in a number of locations. Last year productivity was below 2,500 kilograms of milk per cow at 72 of the republic's dairy farms.

The soviet and economic organs must take urgent measures during the 1984-1985 period to raise the production capacities of all stock-breeding complexes to the planned parameters. The party raykoms must direct the efforts of the party organizations and all farm workers first and foremost towards considerably raising the productivity of cattle and poultry, reducing the loss and leaving of young animals, and improving work for reproduction of the herd.

They should wage a resolute struggle for overcoming lags in dairy stock breeding. There should be no farms, neither in a single ministry and department nor in a single rayon, with a productivity below 3,000 kilograms of milk per cow.

It is necessary to overcome more rapidly the lag which arose in fodder production and to strive so that the specified measures for its development may be implemented more fully.

The role of the Moldavian CP Central Committee's department of agriculture and the food industry and of Central Committee Secretary Comrade Ye. P. Kalenik must be manifested more fully in implementing the tasks for development of the agroindustrial complex and in eliminating existing deficiencies.

/The CPSU Central Committee correctly noted that the Moldavian CP Central Committee is tolerating sluggishness in implementing the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for improving the management of agricultural and other sectors of the agroindustrial complex. The management structure remains cumbersome. The republic and rayon kolkhoz soviets, which are performing economic and administrative functions, as well as the production associations of various ministries and departments and other management sections are operating side by side with the rayon agroindustrial associations in the republic./ [in boldface]

Indeed, the management structure of agriculture and other sectors of the republic's APK [agroindustrial complex] is in need of serious improvement. First of all, they must think over the matter of reducing the layers of management and eliminating duplication of work; secondly, they must make relations more efficient between sector subunits [podrazdeleniye] on a rayon scale; and, thirdly, they must simplify and reduce the administrative and management organization.

In order to properly resolve these matters, the bureau of the central committee charged the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and the republic's Council of Kolkhozes with making a proposal for improving the management structure of the agroindustrial complex and for simplifying and substantially reducing the administrative and management organization in all its sectors.

It is necessary for the party and soviet organs to considerably liven up the work of the rayon soviets on matters of the agroindustrial complex; to increase their role in coordinating the sector production structures operating in the rayons and in providing for fuller utilization of material, labor and financial resources; and to render all possible assistance to them in suppressing the bureaucratic approach when resolving over-all tasks for the rayon in fulfilling the state's orders for agricultural production.

At the same time, they must increase the independence of farms in resolving production and social tasks, must not allow petty guardianship of them, and in every way possible must encourage the efficiency and helpful initiative of managers in finding supplementary reserves for raising the efficiency of farming and stock breeding.

Reducing the personnel strength of the management organization is an important economic, political and social matter, and it must be given proper attention. When working out the proposal, they must keep in mind the possibility of reducing the layers of management and also the jobs duplicated in ministries and departments on a rayon scale; creating unified management of stock-breeding complexes and associations for feed; and consolidating small farms and brigades into farms up to the optimum sizes. By virtue of releasing personnel in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, they must reinforce the average production link with specialists, expand their role and responsibility for final results, and increase material stimulation.

The speaker seriously criticized Goskomsel'khoztekhnika [State Committee for Agriculture], the Ministries of Procurement, Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Rural Construction, Construction, Construction Materials Industry, and Moldglav-energo [Moldavian Main Power Supply Administration] in which the administrative and management organization is too big, and the number of management workers in the subdepartmental enterprises and organizations is growing faster than the number of those engaged in production.

The CPSU Central Committee made it incumbent upon the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers to take measures for further improvement of planning and management and for improvement of the style and methods of management. The energies and attention of the party, soviet and economic organs and of the labor collectives must be constantly concentrated on the main trends for intensifying public production: increasing labor productivity and the quality of production on the basis of accelerating scientific and technical progress, rapidly assimilating and fully utilizing production capacities, consistently executing the principles of cost accounting and the production routine of the economy, and incorporating the collective contract and other progressive forms of production. It is necessary to regard these matters as of paramount importance when analyzing the state of the economic system, developing socialist pledges, concluding collective contracts, summing up competition, and when supervising management activities with primary party organizations.

/It is indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree that the Moldavian CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms are not showing proper concern about more fully satisfying the needs and growing necessities of the workers./ [in boldface] Indeed, in the current five-year plan goods turnover is not being accomplished systematically in the republic and interruptions in the trade of consumer goods are being tolerated. During the 3 years, the population was sold 256 million rubles worth of consumer goods and rendered services of 12.5 million rubles less than was planned. In 1983, more than one-third of the state trade organizations, 80 percent of the consumer cooperative enterprises, and one-half of the domestic services for the public did not cope with fulfilling the established plans.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee repeatedly called the attention of managers from the Ministry of Trade and the Union of Consumers' Societies to the necessity of changing the style and methods of their work. However, Comrades M. I. Cholak and P. D. Kostin did not draw the proper conclusions and they are not providing for fulfillment of the demands of the Third Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in full volume.

The ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets also are poorly involved with matters of trade and domestic services for the public. Proper concern is not felt on their part for strengthening the material and technical base of services and providing for its smooth operation. Everything still has not been done in Kishinev, Beltsy, and Kriulyanskiy and a number of other rayons for putting the work production routine in good order at enterprises and institutions servicing the public.

It is necessary for the Moldavian CP Central Committee's department of trade and domestic services, party gorkoms and raykoms to considerably increase the responsibility of ministry, department, enterprise and organization managers engaged in domestic services to the public and of ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies for developing and improving trade and domestic services to the public; and to consider this work as one of the most important conditions for successfully putting into practice the party's course towards a steady rise in the workers' standard of living.

The republic's medical services to the public are in need of serious improvement. The attention of management of Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] was already directed at the Moldavian CP Central Committee plenums towards the necessity of the most prompt elimination of deficiencies in the work of public health care institutions. However, cases of medical workers not fulfilling their official duty in a conscientious manner are being encountered as before and that gives rise to just criticism. Many more complaints than usual to party and state organs about the poor medical services are being received from Kishinev, Bendery, and Dondyushanskiy, Kagulskiy, Kotovskiyy and Komratskiyy Rayons. It is thought that after the present central committee plenum the situation in health care will change more rapidly for the better.

/The CPSU Central Committee considers it absolutely intolerable that year after year plans are not being fulfilled in the republic for residential construction and putting children's preschool institutions in operation, while considerable energies and resources are being diverted for the installation of administrative buildings and other nonpriority projects./ [in boldface]

Residential housing, kindergartens, day nurseries, schools and hospitals average about 17 percent in the over-all volume of construction. Last year there were real opportunities to provide the present volume with the necessary building materials and labor resources and to fulfill the work program. However, it was not done and the plan turned out to be ruined. According to the results of 3 years of the five-year plan, there was a shortfall in residential housing of 194,000 square meters, in schools of 3,400 spaces, in children's preschool institutions of 4,500 spaces and in vocational and technical schools of 560 spaces.

The largest nonfulfillment of plans for residential housing was allowed by the contract organizations of the nonbuilding ministries, and particularly the Ministries of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and Viticulture and Winemaking, as well as "Moldtabakprom" [Agrarian Industrial Association for Tobacco] and "Moldsel'khozkhimiya" [State Cooperative Scientific Production Association for Agrochemical Service of Agriculture] which in 1983 implemented the plan by only 20-74 percent for making residential housing operational through their own efforts.

Year after year, putting residential housing and health care and education projects in operation is being hampered in practically all the rayons, but the most unfavorable in this regard are the matters in Drokiyevskiy, Kalarashskiy, Oknitskiy, Kriulyanskiy and Ungenskiy Rayons. In spite of the small volumes of residential construction, the party raykoms and rayispolkoms of these rayons treated implementation of the plans without proper responsibility; did not make exacting requirements of managers of the contract organizations; did not render them the

necessary assistance in providing construction projects with labor resources; and were more occupied with searching for excuses for not fulfilling the established quotas than with the specific matters.

The state of residential construction in Kishinev remains unsatisfactory. The serious unfinished work of the party gorkom (First Secretary Comrade V. K. Kiktenko) is becoming apparent in this regard. Last year here, there was a shortfall of 12,500 square meters of residential housing, 22,000 square meters of residential housing less than in 1982 were made operational, and 2 kindergartens of 640 spaces were not turned over for operation. The quota for construction and installation operations on medical care projects was assimilated by only 51 percent.

A large portion of the blame for hampering construction of residential housing and projects for social and domestic purposes in Kishinev falls on the Ministry of Construction. Although it produced an increase of 14 percent for 1982 in the over-all program of contract operations, nevertheless the 1983 plan as a whole was fulfilled by only 90 percent, and by only 96.2 percent for residential housing in Kishinev. Minister Comrade N.I. Uzun is treating the fulfillment of the demands of the party and the state on matters of residential construction in an essentially formal manner.

Recently, as was already reported at the previous central committee plenum, the bureau of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers approved a decree in which by 1985 in Kishinev it is envisaged to increase putting residential housing in operation by 60 percent of the 1983 level. The Kishinev gorkom, the city's party raykoms, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets and the republic's Ministry of Construction must make every effort so that the present decree is fulfilled.

Every time, while examining matters for implementing construction plans for residential housing and social and domestic projects, we run into cases of these construction projects being poorly provided with prefabricated reinforced concrete, items for KPD [large-panel housing construction] and other materials. Comrade I. I. Demchenko, minister of the construction materials industry, continues to build the ministry's activities on the basis of the gross delivery of reinforced concrete without taking into consideration contracts and schedules of the complete package which have been concluded. Such a faulty practice which pursues narrow bureaucratic interests must be resolutely put to an end.

It must be said that in the lag of capital construction there is also unfinished work of the central committee department which did not provide proper supervision for timely implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and Moldavian CP Central Committee decrees on matters of residential construction.

In 1984, we are faced with fulfilling a large volume of capital construction and putting in 22 percent more fixed capital than in 1983 and 20 percent more residential housing and education and health care projects. In order to implement this task it is necessary to improve the style and methods for managing construction, to raise the level of operations and production industrialization at construction projects, to wage a resolute struggle with the fluctuation of

construction personnel, to be more concerned about their training and creating conditions for them for normal everyday life and labor productivity, and to use the brigade contract and other progressive forms of capital construction on a broad scale. This year there should not be a single ministry and construction organization or a single city and rayon which does not fulfill the plans for putting residential housing, social and cultural life and health care projects in operation.

The serious demands put forward by the CPSU Central Committee before the republic's party organization for improving the workers' living conditions dictate the necessity for intensifying party supervision on the part of Moldavian CP Central Committee departments and Comrade B. N. Savochko, central committee secretary, of construction and the allocation of residential housing, the state of trade and domestic services for the public, and improvement in the style of work of appropriate ministries.

Questions connected with the necessity for raising the level of ideological activities of Moldavia's central committee, party gorkoms and raykoms occupy a visible place in the CPSU Central Committee decree.

It should be noted that measures being taken by the republic's party organizations on various directions for upbringing and education have a positive effect on the content of ideological and political work, make it more practical, and strengthen the connection of efforts at upbringing with organizational and operational practice. The growth of the workers' production activity and the high moral and political attitude in the labor collectives serve as specific confirmation of this.

At the same time, /the CPSU Central committee noted that ideological and mass political work in the republic is being reorganized slowly in compliance with the demands of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is often missing the necessary acuteness and efficiency and a sense of purpose in solving the most important economic and political problems./ [in boldface]

An analysis shows that formalism and striving to evaluate work efficiency through a number of measures being conducted and through their mass character to the detriment of the qualitative aspect of the matter were not fully overcome in organizing upbringing activities. Some party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations interpreted the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central committee in a simplified manner, are conducting work for implementing them without the proper persistence, and are showing sluggishness in accomplishing the party's directions on improving ideological, theoretical, political and economic training.

Serious deficiencies in the conduct of ideological, political and educational work are taking place in the Ungenskiy, Dondyushanskiy and Kantemirskiy rayon party organizations. Attention to theoretical training of personnel was relaxed here, demands are not being made of communists for their poor mastery of Marxist and Leninist erudition, irregular methods are being allowed in political work among the public according to the place of residence, and forms and resources for mass propaganda and agitation are being poorly utilized.

As indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree, moral upbringing, counterpropaganda and work for shaping an international consciousness and atheistic beliefs among all people are not being conducted actively enough in the republic. It should be noted that many of our party organizations are not implementing proper measures for strengthening labor discipline and eradicating hard drinking, the misappropriation of socialist property, money grubbing and other antisocial manifestations. As a result, the number of trancies and encroachments upon socialist property is being reduced in a slow manner. The organs for protecting rights are not working efficiently enough everywhere.

The necessity for intensifying opposition to foreign anti-Soviet radio propaganda is being underestimated in some party organizations.

There are deficiencies in atheistic upbringing. A portion of the people still remain under the influence of religion. International reaction attempts to use religiosity for its own anti-Soviet purposes. Our method, which was emphasized at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is education, conviction and propaganda. When we run into cases of violation of socialist laws and subversive political activity which is only being concealed with religion, then we act just as our constitution requires.

To a considerable extent, deficiencies in the ideological, political and moral upbringing of people are a consequence of the fact that Moldavia's CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are not fully utilizing the available conditions and resources for improving ideological work, and they did not strive so that all management personnel might be actively included in ideological activities and so that these activities might be conducted in solid unity with their economic and organizational work. Some managers of the republic's organizations, including Comrades V. G. Parfenov, M. P. Romanov, S. S. Grafov and A. G. Morar' (the list given could be continued), are confining themselves to fundamental participation in Leninist Fridays in political work among the workers and even then they are doing this far from regularly. Farm managers and specialists are being drawn in to propagandistic measures in a poor manner in a number of rural rayons. The amount of lecturers out of the number of specialists in 1983 has even been reduced in Sorokskiy, Kriulyanskiy and Vulkaneshtskiy Rayons.

The party committees and the primary party organizations must considerably raise the level of ideological, theoretical, patriotic, international, moral and atheistic upbringing of workers. This work must be conducted widely, persistently and efficiently while deepening its content, enriching the forms and methods and striving so that the Marxist-Leninist convictions and high moral qualities of the Soviet people might be strengthened and enriched in daily practice and embodied in specific deeds. It is necessary to sharply intensify the struggle with relapses of the petty bourgeois psychology, the misappropriation and squandering of socialist property, and religious prejudices against the intrigues of hostile propaganda.

The work of the mass information media is in serious need of improvement. In the meantime, its level does not fully conform to the decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is necessary to increase the role and

responsibility of the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines and Gos-teleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and to improve the style and methods of their work; to raise the ideological content, publicity and effectiveness of press, television and radio speeches; and to provide close interaction of press work with oral political agitation and propaganda.

Right now the broad and well-reasoned propagandizing of decisions of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the principal propositions and conclusions contained in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the plenum is the most important duty of the mass information media. This work must be conducted in close contact with preparation for the forthcoming elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the topical elucidation of mass socialist competition for a worthy welcome of the 60th anniversary of the Moldavian SSR's formation and the creation of the Moldavian CP and for fulfilling the 1984 state plans and quotas ahead of schedule.

Work on the communist upbringing of youth requires great attention. A good young generation is growing up among us which is demonstrating through deeds its loyalty to party ideas and the achievements of the revolution. At the same time, cases of deviations from the norms of socialist morality and morals are being encountered among youth. It is necessary to recognize that many party committees and primary party organizations are not sufficiently involved with the Komsomol and are poorly influencing its practical activities which often do not have enough specificity, efficiency, youthful fervor and political acuteness.

It is necessary to eliminate more rapidly these and other deficiencies in work with youth. The Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee must resolutely change the style and methods of its activities, analyze results achieved deeper and more self-critically, develop the initiative and creative work of youth and raise its consciousness and political vigilance. Party organizations must more actively involve youth in social practice, trust them and more boldly move young people up to responsible work sectors.

Responsible tasks for ideological, moral, class and labor training of youth confront the republic's school providing education, the vocational and technical schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's. While not diminishing the importance of what they are constantly doing in this direction, it should be noted that the level of upbringing work of many educational institutions is not high, and people who are well-educated, brought up morally and prepared for socially useful labor far from always walk away from their walls.

It is necessary for the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education to improve the style and methods of their activities and the work of public education organs, directors and the heads of educational institutions; and to strive for improving the instruction and upbringing of youth, their preparation for conscientious labor for the good of the nation, and strengthening school contact with labor collectives and the general public. It is necessary to provide everywhere for careful study of the plan which was

promulgated by the CPSU Central Committee on "Basic Trends in the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School," and to summarize and study those proposals which will be forthcoming in the course of discussing this document which concerns practically every family and every Soviet person.

For the purpose of training workers, party organizations must better utilize the rich resources of literature, art and the cultural institutions; assist cultural workers in raising the ideological and artistic level of their works; strengthen contact with the labor collectives and build their work in the spirit of high party responsibility and principles.

It is necessary for all ideological institutions, party committees and primary party organizations to implement a resolute turn of ideological and training activities towards actual political tasks, to attach the necessary purposefulness and sense of the offensive to it and to provide close unity with economic and organizational work.

The ideological departments of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and Comrade P. P. Petrik, central committee secretary, must strive to further increase the efficiency of political work in the masses and to better coordinate the efforts of all ideological institutions in the communist upbringing of workers.

The entire work style of party organizations and their management organs must reliably guarantee strict observance of the norms of party life, further development of intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism, initiatives and responsibilities of communists and their active participation in making and implementing decisions. Today, the CPSU Central Committee is setting just such a task.

While carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, Moldavia's CP Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms are conducting certain work for improving the organizational and party activities of party organizations that promotes increasing their role in labor collectives, improving the selection, placement and upbringing of personnel, consolidating the party ranks and expanding communist activity.

At the same time, the party committees and the Moldavian CP Central Committee's department of organizational and party work are still providing poor supervision of appropriate utilization of efficient forms and methods for organizational and party work. Individual party gorkoms and raykoms are showing tolerance of cases of deviations from the norms of party life and the principles of party management, are not always giving a principled evaluation of the actions of some personnel who are abusing their position, and they are allowing considerable deficiencies in guaranteeing in an organizational and a party sense the decisions which have been made.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree, /not enough attention is being given in the republic's party organization to further development of the collectivity of management, criticism and self-criticism/ **[in boldface]** which are the most important principles of party work.

Party meetings in the primary party organizations are frequently held in a formal manner and have an unnecessarily organized nature. More attention is given in the reports and speeches of communists to positive work than to existing deficiencies. On the whole, personnel of a medium-level link, specialists and rank and file communists are criticized, and as for managers they turn out to be beyond criticism.

The plenums of the party gorkoms and raykoms as well are not always held in a setting with an open exchange of opinions. As a matter of fact, criticism at them comes only from above, that is to say, it is contained in the report or speech of managerial party workers. It should be recognized also that at central committee plenums the critical remarks and suggestions of those speaking frequently are not addressed to persons who are guilty of omissions or on whom the solution of one problem or another depends.

It is necessary to considerably improve the practice of conducting plenums, conferences of the bureaus of party committees and party meetings and to increase the role and importance of them as collective organs of management. It is necessary in every way possible to develop the democratism of intraparty life, to strengthen the principle of collectivity in work, and to be concerned about the fact that it is not conducted in a formal manner, but essentially in a consistent manner to the end. The central committee's department of organizational and party work must follow the implementation of these requirements in a strict and principled manner.

The suppression of criticism is absolutely intolerable not only in the practice of party work, but also in the activities of personnel of any rank. One would think the matter here is perfectly clear. However, individual managers are still encountered who attempt to get rid of persons who do not wish to condone shortcomings. Similar cases must receive a principled party evaluation in a timely manner.

It is necessary in every way possible to develop criticism and self-criticism, and they are the most important aspect of a genuinely party style and methods of work. Of course, it is necessary to develop the creative activity, initiative and efficiency of personnel and all communists not only by means of criticizing shortcomings and mistakes in their work, but also the broad support of useful undertakings, the careful dissemination of positive experience, the organization of constant and purposeful training, and especially of young managers.

The written and oral appeals of workers to party, soviet and economic organs are an important channel of criticism. The speaker emphasized that attentive consideration of them is not being provided everywhere. Serious shortcomings were permitted at work with letters at some city and rayon departments of internal affairs, and for this it was pointed out in a severe manner to Comrade Minister N. M. Bradulov of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Bureau.

The torrent of complaints about deficiencies in municipal services to the public, trade and the allocation of residential housing in accordance with labor matters is not being reduced.

It is necessary to improve work with the letters, requests and suggestions of citizens, to respond to them in a prompt manner, to consider the opinion of the workers and lend an ear to their complaints about various matters of labor and everyday life and to wage an uncompromising struggle with any manifestations of callousness and heartlessness.

/While evaluating the state of organizing and verifying the execution of work in the republic's party organization, the CPSU Central Committee noted that this most important part of work in the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the party committees still remains a weak point./ [in boldface] In a number of party gorkoms and raykoms, supervision of the implementation of decisions which have been made is accomplished mainly by means of inquiries for written information and records, and not by means of actually verifying the state of affairs. Insufficient ability to persistently convert decisions which have been made into life and to carry through to conclusion a job which has been started is showing up in the activities of some party committees and primary party organizations.

Efficiently supervising and verifying the execution of party and government decisions are the most important aspect of work and of all soviet, state, economic and public organs. However, proper attention is not being given to this sector in some of them. For example, having not even determined the tasks for implementing it, the ispolkom of the Council of People's Deputies in Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon summarized all the work for implementing the decree of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the Moldavian SSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers on "Further Increasing the Role of the Moldavian SSR Councils of People's Deputies in Economic Construction," familiarized the organization's workers with it and removed this document from supervision.

While performing supervision, one also cannot run to extremes in conducting numerous checks of the activities of labor collectives. For checks of this kind, many people are distracted from their immediate business in production and substantial changes do not ensue. It is necessary for the departments of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, the republic's Council of Ministers and the local party gorkoms and raykoms to better coordinate work for supervising and not to allow duplication and redundancy.

It is necessary to increase the role of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Secretariat and its staff in reinforcing the verification of work being executed. It is necessary that staff workers should go out more often to locations, supervise organizations in the actual implementation of decisions which were made and render daily assistance in this matter to party gorkoms and raykoms. Systematic and effective supervision of the implementation of party and government directives and decisions which have been made must in fact become the most important aspect of the work of party committees, their staff and the most active elected members.

/The CPSU Central Committee took notice of the fact that sometimes the necessary exacting requirements of personnel for strict observance of executive discipline and the norms of party ethics are absent among us, and a critical evaluation is not given to cases of eyewash, adding on, and abuses of one's official position./ [in boldface]

Today it should be said with all straightforwardness that similar negative occurrences are still taking place in the republic. Last year, cases of adding on were exposed in contract organizations of the Ministries of Construction, Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Housing and Municipal Services, and "Kolkhozstroy." They are also being tolerated by some of the republic's kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers. Cases of improper behavior of individual workers and abuses of one's official position for mercenary motives are being encountered as well.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms must hone the struggle with violations of state discipline and party ethics and be uncompromising with respect to those who display grand manners and follow the road of frauding the state and abusing their official position, and who commit other unseemly acts.

As a whole, we need to improve work in the selection, placement and upbringing of personnel. Lately, party committees have succeeded somewhat in stabilizing personnel. Right now, replaceability among managers of industrial enterprises is 16 percent, nearly 10 percent among kolkhoz chairmen, and nearly 8 percent among sovkhoz directors. At the same time, the personnel merry-go-round, figuratively speaking, continues to take place in a number of rayons. During the years of the current five-year plan, half of the farm managers were replaced in Kotovski, Kaushanski and Novoanenski Rayons. The managers were replaced twice at six farms in Leovski Rayon. A number of managers in Teleneshtski Rayon who piled up work at one farm and even were punished by party order was sent by the party raykom to other farms for managerial jobs. This is indicative of the fact that they are working poorly with the reserve here; are tolerating serious shortcomings in the study of workers' political and business qualities, their placement and upbringing; and are showing subjectivism and bureaucratic administration when resolving personnel matters.

As the CPSU Central Committee decree demands, it is necessary also to further raise the level of work with personnel in the republic's party organizations, to teach them the Leninist style, to give them a broad expanse for showing initiative, to bring up a self-critical attitude towards results which have been achieved and to demand constantly concerned contact with people. Today, the main thing towards which all work with personnel should be directed is raising executive discipline and responsibility for the matter which was entrusted before the party and the nation. Party organizations are urged to follow this so that every manager is up to the mark, conscientiously performs his duty and serves as a moral example for the collective.

Management personnel who bear particular responsibility for the state of affairs in the economic system and other spheres of the republic's public life must set the tone in work for improving the style and methods of activities of the party, soviet and economic organs and for more rapidly eliminating the shortcomings noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree. Members and candidate members of the central committee, members of the Moldavian CP auditing commission, secretaries of the party committees, ministers, and managers of all the republic's departments and organizations are obliged in a resolute manner to improve the style of personal work; to develop such traits as the unity of theory and

practice, principledness and irreconcilability towards shortcomings, contact with the masses and a concerned attitude towards them; to strive for steady improvement of its practical activities; and, as V. I. Lenin teaches, while working indefatigably "on creating discipline and self-discipline and on strengthening organization, order and efficiency both high and low."

The CPSU Central Committee made it incumbent upon us in its decree /to go deeper into the content of activities of the trade unions, the Komsomol and the people's control organs; to actively attract them towards resolving the tasks confronting us; to increase authority and to strive for strengthening their influence on all aspects of public life./ [in boldface]

In order to implement the directions given by the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary for the party committees to involve themselves in a systematic and objective manner with the work of these organizations and to assist them in fulfilling the important and responsible functions for developing the labor initiative and social activity of workers, kolkhoz workers and the intelligentsia and for improving the living conditions of the workers and their upbringing. The Moldsovprof [Moldavian Trade Union Council] (Comrade G. I. Yeremey) and the republic's People's Control Committee (Comrade P. V. Voronin) should take measures for further improving the work style of management organs of public organizations. While relying on the principal proposition of the law on labor collectives, it is important that they together with the primary party organizations find and make the best use of the more effective forms for drawing in workers in the management of production and for solving social and living problems.

Comrades!

Almost two months have passed since adoption by the CPSU Central Committee of the decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum." During this time, some measures have been taken to provide for implementation of the given document: a meeting of the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and the republic's management personnel was held at which priority tasks were determined in light of the CPSU Central Committee decree; the central committee bureau studied the work style and methods of the Leovo party raykom; at its expanded session, the republic's Council of Ministers examined the tasks of the ministries and departments which resulted from the CPSU Central Committee decree; and a meeting of the active membership of the party organization on the results of work of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held at which the specific tasks of city and rayon party organizations were examined with regard to the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decree.

Today, the central committee bureau is submitting for your consideration a detailed plan of measures for implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

Time began its own count from the instant the CPSU Central Committee decree came out, and it should be time for all the republic's organizations at all levels to turn to specific matters for implementing it. Unfortunately, some comrades are waiting for additional instructions. Speaking to the point, this is also a style, but it is a worthless style, and once again this speaks about the necessity for resolutely improving the work methods of the party, soviet and economic organs and the public organizations.

It is necessary to more rapidly eliminate the shortcomings noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree. The main attention of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, its bureau, the party gorkoms and raykoms, the soviet and economic organs, and the republic's entire party organization must be concentrated right now on increasing the effectiveness of party management in all aspects of the republic's life; further strengthening the workers' unity and solidarity around the Leninist party; intensifying public production and providing for the fulfillment of state plans and quotas.

We have everything necessary for successful accomplishment of these tasks: highly developed material production, sufficient labor and material resources, and a good political attitude and high labor enthusiasm of the nation. We are armed with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the directions and conclusions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and the CPSU Central Committee decree concerning the work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in which specific ways are contained for our movement forward.

While efficiently using available resources, improving the style and methods of work and acting as V. I. Lenin taught "with the power of authority, the power of energy, more experience, more versatility, and more talent," the matter now depends on promoting in every way possible the mobilization of communists and all workers for implementing the party's plans and achieving high indicators in labor.

Allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo that the active membership of the party and the republic's communists will do everything necessary for absolutely fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee decree "Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods for Activities of Party Organizations in Light of Decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" and the directions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, and they will strive for new successes in the social and economic development of the republic. (Applause).

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REGIONAL

SLYUNKOV ADDRESSES BELORUSSIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 84 pp 1, 3, 4

[Article: "Report by 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, Comrade N. N. Slyun'kov at the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia"]

[Text] Comrades!

Our party and the Soviet nation have suffered a heavy loss. The Communist Party members and the workers of our republic, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, have said farewell, with a deep sense of sorrow, to Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, an outstanding figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state, an ardent patriot for our great Motherland, indefatigable warrior for peace and communism, and a person of crystal-pure conscience and a great heart.

(The plenum participants honored the blessed memory of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov by a minute of silence.)

During these days of nationwide mourning, our citizens have demonstrated their solidarity and high organizational spirit, and have expressed their complete readiness to work with even greater persistence on the fulfillment of the socioeconomic program that was set down by the party, to take all steps to multiply the country's material and spiritual wealth, and to reinforce its defense capability.

The Communist Party members, workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals of our republic completely and entirely approve the decisions of the extraordinary 13 February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and they unanimously support the election of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenum of the Central Committee has once again expressed with all forcefulness our party's unwavering resolve to continue to march ahead along the Leninist course, and to carry out consistently and undeviatingly the course developed by the party in foreign and domestic policy -- the course of communist creation and peace.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee are convincing proof of the succession in our party's policy, the essence of which lies primarily in

assuring that we continue to move ahead, without stopping, but relying upon all that has been previously achieved, and creatively enriching it.

The strength of our party lies in the solidarity of its ranks, in its unity, its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism, in its capability of developing and directing the creative participation of the masses, of consolidating them both ideologically and organizationally, being guided by the time-tested Leninist principles and methods.

Today we see our duty in assuring the fulfillment, with greater persistence and energy, the decisions of the 26th party congress, and the principles enunciated by the December 1983 and the extraordinary February 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. It is important, as we are required by the Central Committee, to preserve the rate that has been built up, the overall emphasis on the practical resolution of tasks, to take more energetic steps to develop positive tendencies, and to give them a stable nature.

During the past three years of the five-year plan, our republic moved ahead in all areas of economic and social development. We have overfulfilled the assignments of the five-year plan for increase of national income and the productivity of social labor, and the volume of industrial production. The average annual volume of output on kolkhozes and sovkhozes during that period of time increased by 3 percent as compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan. Last year our republic coped with the fulfillment of the plan for purchases of all types of output with the exception of vegetables.

The social program is being implemented consistently. The public's real income has increased by 7 percent during the past three years. We have built 13.6 million square meters of housing.

The current year also was begun rather well. The volume of industrial production in January increased by 6.9 percent; and labor productivity increased by 6 percent. The plan for sale of output was fulfilled by all the oblasts and all the industrial ministries.

The agricultural workers increased the production of meat and milk by 11 percent, and eggs by 5. The plan for construction-and-installation operations was fulfilled. Workers in trade and in rail transportation coped with the planned assignments.

But, as was emphasized at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary to evaluate realistically that which has been achieved, without exaggerating it, but also without underestimating it. When evaluating the results of our work from these positions, it must be admitted that we have not yet activated all our reserves, and this pertains first of all to questions of increasing the effectiveness of production. Its intensification, the absolutely strict observance of planning discipline, have not yet become the determining directions in the work of many associations, enterprises, and organizations.

The number of associations and enterprises in industry that failed to cope with the assignments for the first three years of the five-year plan with

regard to production growth rates was 81 in Minsk Oblast, 58 in Vitebsk Oblast, 57 in Grodno Oblast, 48 in Brest Oblast. A considerable number of enterprises failed to establish the assigned rates for growth of labor productivity.

The industry in a number of cities and rayons failed to guarantee the fulfillment of the plan for the first three years of the five-year plan with regard to increase in the volumes of output. Those cities and rayons include Baranovich, Polotsk, Bobruysk, Vileyka, Mozyr, Krichev, Soligorsk, and Zhlobinskiy, Kalinkovichskiy, Rogachevskiy, Shchuchinskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, and Pukhovichskiy Rayons.

A large number of shortcomings still exist in agriculture, construction, transportation, trade and personal services.

We are all required to carry out more strenuous and more effective work in involving and using the reserves and capabilities.

It is necessary first of all to achieve a situation in which all the enterprises fulfill the established assignments and socialist pledges. Unfortunately, in January of this year that had not occurred. The plan for sale of output in Minlesprom and Uprorybkhoz, for example, was not fulfilled by every fourth enterprise, in Minpishcheprom, every fifth enterprise, and in Minsk Oblast, every sixth.

A number of party committees and Soviet agencies have penetrated insufficiently into the reasons for the nonfulfillment of the plans even by those collectives whose lagging behind has been of a chronic nature.

The party attaches special importance to the precise fulfillment of the contract obligations as a very important condition for the smooth operations in production. However, here too the state of affairs is being corrected slowly.

The work being performed by every association and enterprise that failed to fulfill its pledges and its assignments for volume of production and labor productivity should be thoroughly considered at the party committees and the economic managers should be made to give a strict accounting with regard to this matter.

The question of organizational spirit and order is for us a key, fundamental one. And it is completely natural that truly nationwide approval was given to the steps that were taken by the party for the purposes of increasing the labor, production, planning, and state discipline.

These factors play a primary role in the attainment of the goals that were set in the socialist pledges for the current year. As you know, they are rather strenuous ones. It will be necessary to guarantee an increase in industrial production by 4.7-5 percent. It will also be necessary to maintain approximately the same level in 1985, in order to fulfill successfully the assignments for the five-year plan as a whole.

The chief emphasis must be placed on the further intensification of production, and primarily upon the increase in labor productivity.

Something that is deeply gratifying is the broad response given by the labor collectives to the summons issued by the December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee -- the achieving of an above-plan increase in labor productivity by one percent. That means that labor productivity in the republic's industry must rise by no less than 4.3 percent.

It is no simple matter to do this. During the past three years the average annual increase in labor productivity was only 3.3 percent. Although in January of this year our republic's industry as a whole reached the required level of indicators, we are alarmed by the fact that some of the associations and enterprises have failed to fulfill even their planned assignments, not even mentioning the pledges that they took. There is a large number of such collectives in Grodno, Mogilev, and Brest Oblasts, Minmyasomolprom, Minlesprom, and Minmestprom, Belorussian SSR.

The republic has at its disposal large reserves for increasing labor productivity in industry. These reserves are, primarily, the more rapid introduction into production of the achievements of science and technology, the application of new and improved technological schemes, and the modernization and replacement of obsolete equipment.

We might as well state it outright, that these questions are not yet being resolved in the best manner. Periods required for the designing and assimilation of machinery and articles sometimes stretch out for years, and the new models not infrequently become obsolete even before their series production begins. Last year the plan for assimilation of new technology in the progressive technology section was not fulfilled.

It is necessary to develop steps everywhere to raise the technical level of production. We must have a precise system of planning for scientific-technical progress and for administering it. We have not yet succeeded to making broad-scale introduction of scientific-technical developments, and this pertains primarily to resource-saving technological schemes, automated systems, robots, manipulators, microprocessing technology, and means for automating planning-designing and technological operations.

It is planned to discuss these questions at one of the plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia [BCP].

The republic's Gosplan, ministries and departments, oblast and city executive committees, and associations and enterprises must speed up the development and implementation of the plans for the technical re-equipping of every enterprise, which plans are aimed at increasing the production volumes, raising the technical level and improving the quality of output, and reducing the number of workers. It is necessary to define precisely and to plan the capital investments for the remodeling and technical re-equipping of the existing enterprises, by individual years.

The party's oblast, city, and rayon committees must increase the activity rate in the work of their technical-economic councils. Evidently it would be desirable to organize the consideration and the defense of the plans for technical re-equipment by the enterprise managers and specialists both at those councils and at the ministry boards.

The corresponding commission of the Presidium of the BSSR Council of Ministers must also define its role and place in the resolution of these questions.

It is necessary, with a consideration of the results of the work during the past three years, to refine for 1984-1985 the assignments for the increase in labor productivity and its mechanization, which were defined by the comprehensive "Labor" program. It is also necessary to begin without delay to develop programs to reduce the use of manual labor over the long-term period and to specify in it the assignments for the 12th Five-Year Plan.

It is necessary also to activate more energetically the organizational factors for increasing labor productivity. For example, the work of introducing the brigade forms and the scientific organization of labor is being conducted by us. But it lacks the proper systems approach. It must be put on a planned basis.

The republic's Goskomtrud, Gosplan, and ministries and departments, jointly with Belsovprof, must develop the corresponding program for 1984 and for the long-term period, providing in it for the development of brigade forms, and primarily the increase in the number of brigades that carry out incentive measures in recognition of the final results of the labor and that operate on a principle of cost accounting.

It is necessary to accelerate the work of training and certifying the work locations. At enterprises and associations it is necessary to develop and to approve within the established procedure for each article the labor-intensity of its manufacture and the deadlines for achieving it.

The party committees and organizations must take these questions under their strict supervision.

The most careful attention, as is required by the principles stated by the CPSU Central Committee, must be devoted to the better use of our production potential, to the ability to make efficient use of those capacities that we already have.

A number of collectives possess experience in the rapid assimilation of new enterprises and shops, and the putting of a greater work load on the equipment. A large return is being achieved by the production assets at the Azot and Gorizont Associations, the Grodno Thread-Spinning and Pinsk Spinning and Knitting Plants, the Strommashina Plant in Mogilev, the measuring instruments plant in Gomel, and the motor-tractor electrical equipment plant in Borisov.

However, the opposite situation is observed at many enterprises in the building materials industry and the building industry, the Zhlobin synthetic fur factory, the Dobrush porcelain plant, the Tekstil'mash and Myasomolmash Plants in Brest, and a number of others.

At many plants the coefficient of shift operation of the equipment is dropping.

The basic causes here are the lack of preparation of production, the lack of proper concern for the formation of skilled cadres, and the low executive discipline of the upper and middle links of administration.

BSSR Gosplan, the ministries and departments, and the economic cadres must develop and carry out measures that guarantee the most rapid achievement of the projected indicated for all the previously activated capacities, the placing of a more complete work load on the equipment, and the increasing of the coefficient of its shift operation.

It would be correct if the construction ministries and departments, jointly with the oblast executive committees and the customer enterprises, would consider the possibility of bringing closer together the periods for the activation of the capacities and projects that were planned for 1984-1985 and would take the appropriate steps.

It is also necessary to take a different attitude toward questions of the efficient, economical use of the material resources. There is a large number of complaints about the shortage of them. Needless to say, far from everything is being resolved ideally in this regard. And something else that is just as true is that there have been many instances of poor business practices and squandering.

The party and trade-union committees and the economic cadres are doing little to study and introduce the experience gained by the collectives that are increasing the volumes of production with practically no increase in the material expenditures. Such indicators as production costs, profit, and profitability must be in the center of our attention.

At all enterprises it is necessary to develop organizational-technical measures that would guarantee not only the fulfillment of the assignments for the current year with regard to the economizing of resources and the pledges for the above-plan reduction of production costs by 0.5 percent, but also would make it possible within the near future to build up the volumes of production without increasing the expenditure of raw and other materials and even when that expenditure is reduced.

It is necessary to improve everywhere the work of improving the quality of the output. It would seem that this problem is understood by everyone, but by no means everything is being done to resolve it. The 1983 planned assignment for the production of articles with a higher quality category has not been fulfilled. Clear-cut plans for the renewing of output and for its certification do not exist everywhere.

BSSR Gosplan, the ministries and departments, the oblast executive committees, and the Minsk city executive committee must establish for the associations and enterprises those planned assignments which would guarantee the attainment of the goals that were stipulated by the "Quality" program for 1984-1985.

We must devote our special concern to the questions of improving the quality, expanding and renewing the variety, and increasing the production of consumer goods.

The republic's administration of Gosstandart and the trade workers must improve their supervision over the quality of commodities for the people which are being produced by our enterprises, and must efficiently resolve the questions of output that requires additional work, and the removal from production of articles that have no demand with the public.

We must intensify our attention to problems of capital construction. At many construction sites the production and labor discipline is low, poor business practices prevail, and there are losses of materials and idle-time periods for the workers and the equipment. It is necessary to improve considerably the quality of the operations being carried out. A considerable number of projects are being erected with an exceeding of the normative construction periods.

In January of this year, despite the fulfillment of the republic's construction program as a whole, the established assignments were not fulfilled by eight trusts and associations of BSSR Minpromstroy, two in BSSR Minmontazhspetsstroy, and the Polotsk'sel'stroy Trust. A lag in the construction of projects was allowed to occur at the Polimir, Azot, Beloruskaliy, and Bobruyskshina Associations, the Mozyr Fodder Yeast Plant, the Minsk ATETs [nuclear heat and power plant?], and the dry skim milk plant in Novogrudka.

This is the result of miscalculations in the engineer-technological preparation of the construction, shortcomings in the administration of production, and the irresponsible attitude taken by certain managers of contract organizations to the execution of their duties. Consequently, what is lacking here is both the taking of fundamental steps, and strict party demandingness.

For purposes of the more active influence exerted by the economic levers upon the reduction of the materials-intensity and labor-intensity of construction it is necessary to expand the scope of the experiment that has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers, the work under the conditions of which experiment made it possible to accelerate substantially the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and to reduce considerably the estimated cost of the projects.

The work of transportation requires further improvement. The party organizations and the economic managers of the Belorussian Railroad and BSSR Minavto-trans and Glavrechflot have not yet taken a substantial turn toward improving the satisfying of the needs of the national economy and the public for shipments on the basis of the intensification of the use of transportation means. We continue to observe a tendency toward the worsening of a number of technical-economic indicators in the operation of the rolling stock.

Although the plan for shipping of freight in January was fulfilled both in rail transportation and in motor transportation, one cannot evaluate their work only from the positions of the fulfillment of the shipment plan as a whole. The requirement that has been made by industry -- the increasing of delivery discipline -- presupposes the need for a considerable improvement in the quality of the transportation services.

Therefore the workers in transportation must immediately resolve the task of guaranteeing the fulfillment of the shipments plan for the entire established list of freight categories, for every enterprise. This must become the determining criterion in evaluating the work done by the personnel.

As was pointed out at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we must do everything that is needed for the successful fulfillment of the Food Program. Our practical task consists in reinforcing the slight positive shift that was noticed last year, in multiplying the efforts aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the use of the potential of the republic's agroindustrial complex, and of every rayon and farm, and on that basis guaranteeing the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the pledges taken for the current year and the plans for the five-year plan as a whole.

The success will depend primarily upon the substantial increase in the productivity of the land. And, as you know, it will be necessary to achieve a grain harvest yield of 26 quintals per hectare; potatoes, 180; sugar beets, 270; flax, 5.5; and vegetables, 170 quintals per hectare. This is considerably more than last year's.

In order to achieve the goals that have been planned, it is necessary to guarantee the substantial advancement of every farm, and primarily the overcoming of the unjustified spottiness with regard to the harvest yield achieved by the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, rayons, and oblasts.

The large tasks that are confronting us require the fundamental reorganization of the work of the ministries and departments in the agroindustrial complex, the oblast and rayon agroindustrial associations, and all the agricultural cadres. Their efforts must be concentrated on improving the efficiency of vegetable husbandry, the efficient use of every hectare of land, the introduction of progressive technological schemes for the growing of agricultural crops, and the skillful use of fertilizers and means to protect the plants.

The entire job must be constructed in such a way as to guarantee the obtaining of a high harvest under the most complicated conditions.

This must be the point of view taken when preparing for the forthcoming spring sowing. The time for the beginning of the field operations will be here very soon. However, the degree of readiness of many farms by no means conforms to the level of the pledges that have been taken.

Klimovichskiy, Krasnopol'skiy, and Khotimskiy Rayons lack reserve funds of seeds and in Lel'chitskiy, Petrikovskiy, Dubrovenskiy, Lioznenskiy, Kostyukovichskiy, and Mogilevskiy Rayons those funds were created only in the amount of half the need. Obviously, the cadres there set their hopes on an abundant spring, which no one can guarantee for us.

A large quantity of seeds have not been brought up to first-grade sowing specifications on the farms in Starodorozhskiy, Logoyskiy, Maloritskiy, Voronovskiy, Slonomskiy, Bykhovskiy, Kalinovichskiy, and Gorodokskiy Rayons. The preparation of flax seeds is being conducted poorly in Vitebsk.

Mogilev, and Brest Oblasts, and the preparation of grasses in Gomel and Grodno Oblasts.

There is a serious need for improvement in the work with organic fertilizers. Although, as a whole, the schedules for procuring them and applying them to the fields are being fulfilled, the quality of the composts being prepared fails in many instances to conform to the technological requirements and requires fundamental improvement.

The agricultural agencies and the managers of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses must make the proper practical conclusions from this and must correct the situation.

We cannot yet consider that a favorable situation prevails with the preparation of the agricultural technology. The repairing of the energy-saturated tractors and the outfitting of them with wide-cut and combined assemblies are proceeding slowly.

BSSR Minsel'khos and Goskomsel'khos'tekhnika must show a greater amount of time-responsiveness in providing for the needs for units, parts, and spare parts, and must improve the quality of the repair of the technology.

The commissions on questions of the agroindustrial complex, of the Presidium of the BSSR Council of Ministers, the agricultural ministries and departments, and the oblast and rayon executive committees must immediately analyze the rate of preparation for the spring sowing on every farm, in every rayon and oblast, and must determine the specific steps to be taken in order to guarantee within the very near future the elimination of the shortcomings and must assure that all the farms have the necessary high readiness for the field operations. The party's oblast, city, and rayon committees must intensify the party's supervision of the work performed by cadres at all levels in this very important stage of the struggle for this year's harvest and must carry out steps to provide its party-political support.

Extremely intensive plans exist in vegetable husbandry. The chief task consists in assuring that all the farms change over to the intensive methods of conducting the affairs in this branch. We cannot continue to build up the production of output chiefly by means of increasing the number of head of livestock. It is necessary to increase its productivity sharply.

A barometer of the state of animal husbandry is milk production. An increase in the milk yields must be assured by improving the entire job of reproducing the herd and by introducing progressive technological schemes for the production of milk.

The Ministry of Agriculture should conduct a more clear-cut line aimed at the steady rise in the entire dairy branch to the level of the advanced farms, proceeding at such times from the realistic conditions in the republic. The cadres must be aimed at achieving the maximum increase in the milk yields on every farm and achieving, with regard to the production and sale of this output, the assignment of the Food Program.

A task that continues to be an especially complicated one for us is the task of achieving a sharp increase in the production and sale of meat. The type of meat that is the determining one in its structure is beef. However, the work of producing it is being carried out at a low level on many farms and in many rayons.

Because of omissions of an organizational nature and the fact that the technological schemes have not been organized well, the periods of time required for the fattening of livestock are being drawn out, and the fattening results in livestock with low weight specifications.

For the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and pledges for the production and sale to the state of products of animal husbandry, it is extremely important to take the necessary rates, starting with the very first days of the year. The rather good increase in the production of milk and meat that was obtained in January does not, however, provide justifications for complacency. That increase does not yet bring us up to the level of the 1984 assignments, especially for meat. In addition, many farms have worsened the indicators as compared with January of last year. In Kormyanskiy, Mozyrskiy, Narovlyanskiy, and Ostrovetskiy Rayons the milk production has dropped. In a number of rayons there has been a reduction in the average daily weight increases for cattle and hogs. Claims should also be made against those farms and rayons which, although they did not have any decrease, still have a low rate of livestock productivity.

It is necessary to carry out a thorough analysis for every animal farm, on every farm that has had a drop in the productivity or that is marking time, and to carry out meaningful work to introduce proper order.

The work of converting animal husbandry to the intensive path of development must be carried out in close coordination with the increase in the production of fodders and the improvement of their use.

When preparing for the spring sowing, on all kolkhozes and sovkhoses, in all rayons and oblasts, it is necessary to have a clear-cut program for growing, harvesting, storing, and preparing fodders in the volumes, structure, and quality that guarantee the achieving in 1984-1985 of the assignment in the Food Program for the production and sale of meat and milk to the state.

We are posing a specific task: during the course of this year and next year, the creation at every animal farm that produces milk highly productive cultivated pastures that are capable of guaranteeing the entire herd's needs for green fodders. On all farms it is necessary to find the opportunities and reserves to assure the sharp increase in the productivity of the meadows and pastures.

It is necessary to assure the maximum self-interestedness of all the workers in the agrocomplex in the attainment of high final results, and to increase the role and effectiveness of the collective contract and intrafarm cost accounting. The party committees must carry out the supervision over the administration of these processes.

The party attaches special importance to the development of the services sphere. And that is understandable. The highly productive labor of our people must be combined with the steady improvement of their welfare and the more complete satisfying of their needs.

Unfortunately, the workers have been sending in a large number of uncomplimentary remarks about the organization of trade and personal services. Not all the economic managers who have been participating in this sphere have learned a lesson from last year's results. Belkoopsoyuz and BSSR Minbyt began the fourth year of the five-year plan with the nonfulfillment of plans in January. This attests to the fact that many managers in the services sphere have not been conducting an active search for, or introducing into practice, new forms and methods of management. They have not reorganized, as the 16th plenum of the BCP Central Committee required them to do, their work style in conformity with the new tasks and conditions.

There has also been failure to fulfill the requirement of assuring that the active participants in the development of the personal services for the public include all the ministries, Soviets of People's Deputies, and industrial and agricultural enterprises.

We are still waiting for more energetic and effective efforts from our cadres in this important work sector. It is necessary to make the basis of that work the recently enacted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which defined the steps to be taken for the more complete satisfying of the public's needs for services.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted special attention to questions of improving the administration, the economic mechanism, the work of the state apparatus, and improving the style of the party guidance of the economy.

Today, in the light of these requirements, the BCP Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers are developing political-organizational and socioeconomic measures which have the purpose of defining the priority areas in the work of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, and labor collectives, which areas will guarantee the successful completion of the plans and assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

One of the major questions of political importance is the precise delimitation of the functions of the party committees, as distinct from the tasks of the state and economic agencies. Recently a lot has been done in this area. But the situation is by no means completely organized. It is no secret that certain workers in Soviet agencies, ministries and departments, associations and enterprises frequently fail to demonstrate the necessary independence, and transfer to the party agencies the questions that they should be resolving themselves.

Every managerial party worker must always remember that the practice of taking the place of the economic cadres is dangerous in that it weakens the role of the party committee as the agency of political leadership and it simultaneously

dampens the ardor of the cadres. Engaging in the economy from party positions means, primarily, working with the cadres, with the people who are conducting it.

The party committees should require greater demandingness on the part of the workers at the local Soviets for the resolution of economic and social tasks. During recent years their rights in these matters have considerably expanded. But they use these rights not always, and primarily for managing the work of the associations and enterprises that are subordinate to the union ministries.

It is necessary for us to engage seriously also in improving the structure of the state and economic apparatus. During recent years the administrative apparatus has considerably grown, particularly at BSSR Minbyt, Minzhilkomkhoz, Minvodkhoz, Minsel'khoz, and Mindorstroy.

But unfortunately in and of itself the growth in the number of persons in administration does not always, or everywhere, guarantee a rise in the level of management. One still encounters many instances of parallelism and duplication in work. It is necessary to become free more rapidly of paper slavery and conference-fever. It is a shameful practice when certain managers, for any reason, made decisions and issue orders, without be concerned about their essence or effectiveness, or about supervising their fulfillment.

The managers of our ministries and departments lack the systems approach to the implementation of economic and social tasks. A graphic example in this regard is provided by the work of BSSR Minzhilkomkhoz (minister, A. I. Bezlyudov). In this branch, for a number of years, there have been all kinds of reorganizations under the pretext of improving the system of administration and increasing the effectiveness of the operation of the housing and communal economy, and yet the administrative apparatus during the period 1975-1983 increased by 54 percent, including, in the ministry itself, from 117 to 158 persons. At the same time the system of planning and organization of production was not properly organized. There is a constant failure to use the capital investments that have been allocated for communal construction. The work to render personal services to the public is being carried out unsatisfactorily. Large omissions occur in the planning and beautification of cities and in the execution of repair and construction operations.

All this is the result of the fact that there is a lack of proper supervision over the organization of the work performed by the administrative apparatus.

The BSSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan and Minfin, the ministries and departments, and the oblast executive committees must analyze thoroughly the existing system of administering the national-economic complex in the republic at all levels, and, with a consideration of the existing experience in the other republics, take steps to improve and simplify the structure of the administrative apparatus and to increase the effectiveness of its work.

One of the most important questions in improving administration is the improvement of the economic mechanism. The work in the regard has only begun. It includes a broad-scale economic experiment that is to be carried out at enterprises of the light and electrical-engineering industries.

But, as has been indicated by January's results, not all the collectives at BSSR Minlegprom have been coping properly with the assigned task. Certain enterprises have failed guarantee the shipments of output in conformity with the contract pledges, have failed to fulfill the plans for increase in labor productivity, and have reduced the production of articles with the highest category of quality.

All this must become the object of detailed analysis at Ministry of Light Industry, BSSR Gosplan, at the oblast executive committees, and at the BSSR Council of Ministers, with the determination of specific steps for eliminating the shortcomings.

Gosplan, jointly with the ministries and departments and the oblast executive committees, must immediately carry out the preparation for the work under the new conditions in all branches of industry, without waiting for the final results of the experiment. The conducting of it must not be a cover-up for the passivity of those who are attempting to work "the old-fashioned way," who are completely unwilling to take into consideration the changed conditions and the new demands of life.

An important place in the work of the party committees and organizations must be occupied by the questions of reinforcing order and discipline. We have not yet created an atmosphere of organizational spirit and businesslike efficiency everywhere. At many enterprises one continues to see a lot of instances of absenteeism, of tardiness in arriving at work, and people leaving before the shift ends, and other violations.

Discipline also includes within itself such concepts as honesty and the conscientious attitude of the workers. Wherever people are indoctrinated in this spirit, there is no place for ruses, padding of the figures, malfeasances, or other negative manifestations.

Organizational spirit, order, and discipline are inseparable from well-organized supervision, the checking of execution.

It is necessary to intensify the role played in this matter by the Party Commission attached to the BCP Central Committee and the party commissions attached to the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees and the committees of the people's control, with their many thousands of activists, the BCP Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of the local party organizations.

Recently our republic saw the end of a report and election campaign that had been conducted in an atmosphere of businesslike efficiency, a thorough analysis of the results of the work done, and thoroughgoing criticism and self-criticism. The participants at the meetings and conferences expressed more than 160,000 critical comments and recommendations, all of which should be taken into consideration with the greatest amount of attention and seriousness.

The persons who were elected to fill the managerial positions in the party agencies are authoritative, experienced, knowledgeable people. Any elected

position in our party, it was emphasized at the extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is a responsible position. Election to a party committee must be viewed as a kind of trust credit that has been issued by the party members to their comrades. And that trust must be justified by selfless labor. That is the mandate of the participants in the meetings and conferences that were held.

Speaking to the first secretaries of the party's kray and oblast committees who had taken part in the work of the Plenum of the Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, "The Politburo of the Central Committee is convinced that you will do everything necessary to guarantee stable growth rates in industrial production, the successful fulfillment of the Food Program, and the development of the labor participation of the masses, and to implement the measures that are aimed at raising the national welfare, and, thus, to increase the party's vanguard role."

That, comrades, pertains in full measure to all the managers of the party committees, to all of us. Being on top of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee is the absolutely primary party duty of each of us.

It is now especially important for all our party cadres, for each of us at his own sector, to place the emphasis on specific deeds, and to achieve real and important results.

It is precisely on the basis of these deeds and results that the party will evaluate the maturity of our managerial cadres, the work performed by the labor collectives, and the achievements of the oblasts, cities, and rayons, and the branches of the national economy.

At the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was mentioned that it is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level without creating the social and ideological prerequisites necessary for this purpose.

The idea of the unity of the political-organizational, ideological, and economic work, which idea was thoroughly developed in the decisions and materials of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is being put into practice in an increasingly persistent and consistent manner. And whoever has accepted that idea as a guide for action is achieving good results both in the indoctrination of people and in the increasing of the effectiveness of production.

This is attested to by the rich experience of the Integral, Azot, and Polimir Associations, the Osnezhitskiy Kolkhoz, Pinskiy Rayon, the Kolkhoz imeni Krasnaya Armiya, Vitebskiy Rayon, the Minsk Association for Poultry Raising, and many other collectives.

In indoctrinational work an important role is also played by the manager's responsibility. It is not enough to be a good administrator. One must also be a skilled indoctrinator, leader, and the conscience of the collective.

Contact with the masses has always been, is now, and will always be a very important source of our party's strength. The role of the vanguard of Soviet society was won by the CPSU and is reinforced by the fact that the party

constantly deepens its ties with the people and is completely aware of its needs and concerns. It compares its course, all its actions, with the thoughts of the working class, with its reliable sociopolitical and class sense.

Listening carefully to the word that is coming from the working environment, from the front line of socialist construction, maintaining the tie with the people of labor — that is what must be today the absolutely primary duty, the profound inner need of every Communist Party member who is a manager.

The key place in the consolidation of the party's ties with the masses belongs to the primary party organizations. It is precisely at the enterprises, in the institutions and organizations, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in the shops and at the animal farms that our workers carry out that which has been planned by the party.

The primary party organizations have been called upon to react quickly to the recommendations and critical comments of the workers, to rely upon their collective opinion. It is necessary to increase their participation rate and combativeness, and to reinforce their role as the political nucleus of the labor collectives.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expressed most forcefully the idea of the need for providing all kinds of support, and better material and psychological incentives, to the creative undertakings and innovative ideas of the workers.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized in his speech at the Central Committee Plenum that the very basis of the Soviet system is social justice. And therein lies its tremendous strength. Therefore it is so important for that social justice to be strictly observed in daily affairs, whether one is speaking about wages and bonuses, the assignment of apartments or trip tickets, or about awards -- in a word, it is important for everything to be done on the basis of justice, in conformity with the labor contribution of each person to our common cause.

That principle must rigorously guide our party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations and our economic managers. Much here depends upon the labor collectives. They currently have large rights that have been legislatively established. It is now a matter of making more complete use of those rights.

In the struggle for the successful implementation of the party's plans, for the formation of the personality of the new type of person, it is necessary to activate more completely the entire arsenal of propaganda and information -- political and economic education, lecture and mass-political work, newspapers and magazines, radio and television, literature and art.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee sounded once again in a loud, clear, authoritative manner the voice of our party and the Soviet state against the threat of nuclear war, and for the defense of the peace.

Our republic's workers, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, warmly approve the foreign-policy course being conducted by the CPSU Central Committee. The

active support of that course means for us the applying of our selfless labor, our practical deeds, to build up the republic's contribution to the reinforcement of our country's economic and defensive might.

Please allow me to express my assurance that the Communist Party members and all the workers of the cities and villages of Belorussia, closely consolidated around the Communist Party, will respond with distinction to the tasks that have been advanced by the extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, will greet by new achievements in labor the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Belorussia from the German fascist usurpers, and will do everything necessary to resolve the question that is the chief one for us -- the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and pledges for 1984 and the five-year plan as a whole.

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REGIONAL

AZSSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES LABOR DISCIPLINE

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 13 Feb 84 p 2

[Article: "In the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the question of measures for the further strengthening of the socialist labor discipline and decreasing the working time wasted in light of the demands of the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and ASPS decree adopted in accordance with them. It was noted that labor collectives, soviet organs, ministries and departments, instructed by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the following CPSU Central Committee plenums, are carrying out definite work in this direction which assists in decreasing the working time wasted, increasing labor productivity in the people's economy and improving the production quality.

During the past year, in comparison with 1980, the waste of working time in industry decreased by 38 percent, and in construction by 34 percent. The most significant results in the working time utilization were achieved by the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Cotton Cleaning Industry, the Ministry of Rural Construction, the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and the associations Kasporneftegazprom, Soyuzneftemash and Glavazmiliovodstroy. The cadres turnover has decreased and the introduction of the progressive scientific-technical measures into production ensured the decrease in underproductive and manual labor.

The labor productivity was noticeably increased by the transfer of more than 15,500 production brigades in the republic to a unified contract. For instance, in construction, in such brigades, the output in 1983 was 8.5 percent higher than usual.

Together with this, some individual ministries, departments and local soviet ispolkoms have not introduced, on a sufficiently broad scale, work regarding the strengthening of the socialist discipline and the struggle with the working time waste. Absenteeism, inter-shift idle standing and no-show for work with administrative permission continue to take place. In some branches,

the cadre turnover is still large, and it is not everywhere that the labor resources are utilized rationally.

During the last three years, despite a substantial decrease in the working time wasted, it remains high at the enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Industrial Construction, Azerrybprom and Glavbakstroy.

The Council of Ministers obliged the leaders of ministries and departments to immediately take more effective measures for the further strengthening of discipline and to increase the organization and responsibility in all areas of work. Together with the public organizations they should mobilize the labor collectives so as to achieve the highest labor productivity and, at the expense of this indicator, to receive the maximal growth of industrial production, to more broadly disseminate the experience of collectives that strive to achieve the better utilization of working time, to carry out a decisive struggle with any violations of labor discipline, and to systematically perfect the work in shaping stability in labor collectives by way of creating the corresponding labor and domestic conditions for workers.

It was ordered to systematically examine, at the sessions of collegiums and ispolkims, the questions of labor discipline situation and the measures for its strengthening, utilization of working time and the facts of idle-standing and absenteeism. They should increase the demands to the leaders of associations, enterprises and organizations regarding the implementation of measures for discipline and material influence envisioned by law for the malicious violators of labor discipline. It is necessary to improve the management of socialist competition and the movement for the communist attitude to work, to increase their effectiveness, to direct the efforts of competing workers toward a fuller utilization of intensive factors in production development and increase in the production culture. (Azerinform).

12404

CSO: 1830/330

REGIONAL

UZBEK CC BURO REVIEWS 1983 PLAN FULFILLMENT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro and the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Presidium"]

[Text] At their joint regular session the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro and the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Presidium considered the results of the plan fulfillment for economic and social development of the Uzbek SSR for the month of January and the tasks for the unconditional fulfillment of plans and the socialist pledges for 1984 in light of the demands of the December (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the speech by comrade Yu. Andropov, general secretary, CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It was noted that as a result of introducing measures for the realization of the decisions of the December (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the directions by comrade Yu.V.Andropov, the workers of Soviet Uzbekistan fulfilled the plan in the main indicators of the people's economy development for January. The growth of industrial production constituted 6 percent while the plan called for 5.4 percent. Over and above the January assignments, they realized production of almost 24 million rubles. The production of the consumer goods increased by 8.5 percent and, in addition to the assignment, these were produced for 14.5 million rubles. The plan for industrial produce production was fulfilled in physical terms in the majority of the article types and labor productivity increased. The cattle wintering and the preparation for the spring field work is proceeding in an organized fashion. The meat and milk purchasing has increased. Supplies and services for the population have improved.

Together with this, not many enterprises, organizations, units, ministries and departments have started the year with sufficient intensity and have utilized all the existing resources for production intensification. Navoy Oblast, and the associations and enterprises of the chemical industry and the production of mineral fertilizers, and a total of the 53 enterprises in the republic did not fulfill the January plan for the production realization. The ministries of the local, furniture, and construction materials industries determined understated plans for their enterprises in January. The cotton cleaning industry of the republic have substantially decreased their volume of production compared to December, 1983. Many enterprises have not fulfilled their pledges regarding

deliveries. The deliveries discipline in the ministries of light, food, local and cotton cleaning industries and the enterprises of the construction materials industries is especially low.

Andizhan, Navoy and Khorezm oblasts, the city of Tashkent, the ministries of the food industry and the fruit and vegetable industry did not fulfill the January plan for the production of consumer goods. In a number of heavy industry enterprises, the specialized shops and areas for the production of consumer goods are being created slowly.

The enterprises of the ministries for the production of mineral fertilizers, the gas industry of the USSR, light and furniture industries of the republic, and the assembly organizations of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work not only failed to fulfill the accepted pledges regarding the over-the-plan increase in labor productivity for no less than one percent, but did not even achieve the established plan.

The fragmentation of man power and equipment remains high in capital construction. The contractors, ministries and departments-consumers did not take the necessary measures toward concentrating the material and labor resources at the construction currently underway. The concordance of the title lists and the beginning of financing is carried out extremely slowly.

Some individual oblasts and rayons did not fulfill their assignments for the purchasing of live stock production, lag behind in the preparation of the agricultural technology for the spring harvest-time, and impermissably drag out the fulfillment of the irrigation and land reclamation measures. In the Namangan, Samarkand and Surkhandar oblasts the work regarding the cleaning of the irrigation and collecting-drainage networks is being carried out unsatisfactorily; in the Bukhara, Kashkadar and Fergana oblasts that regarding the washing out of salty irrigated lands.

In the localities, the control over the thrifty expenditures of material resources, fuels and energy is being conducted insufficiently. The plans for the domestic services for the population and for the turnover of the retail goods, with the consideration of the additional assignment, are not being fulfilled.

In the adopted decree regarding all these questions, the Uzbek CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministries Uzbek SSR obliged the party obkoms, the KK [Kara-Kalpak] ASSR Council of Ministers, oblispolkoms and the leaders of the republic ministries and departments to eliminate the present shortcomings as soon as possible and to place on a broader footing the socialist competition for the ahead-of-plan fulfillment of the assignments of the first quarter in time for the Supreme Soviet USSR elections day. The party obkoms, ministries and departments and oblispolkoms are entrusted to review the work results for the three years of the 5-year plan in connection with every association, organization and unit, introduce measures to counter the lag that was allowed to happen, primarily, to the detriment of the fulfillment of the counter plans and the socialist pledges for 1984 regarding the additional increase in labor productivity, decrease in cost and economizing in material and energy resources,

and to provide for rythmical and effective work in the industry enterprises, organizations, transportation, communications, capital construction, and the strict observance of the pledges regarding production deliveries.

The obkoms, oblispolkoms, ministries and departments of the agroindustrial economic sector are given specific assignments to accelerate the preparation for carrying out the spring field work, and to increase the rates and quality of the flushing the land and reconstruction of the irrigation and drainage networks and to successfully conduct the cattle wintering.

The party, soviet and economic organs, the trade union and the Komsomol organizations must more actively influence the production development and increase of labor productivity, perfect the educational work, ascertain high organization and order in all labor collectives, and to place on a broader footing the socialist competition for the befitting welcome of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Uzbek SSR and the Uzbek CP.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro and the Council of Ministers Presidium of the Uzbek SSR also discussed other questions of party and economy building, regarding which the necessary decisions were adopted.

12404

CSO: 1830/325

REGIONAL

JANUARY GEORGIAN CC CP BURO MEETING DETAILED

Educational Improvements Discussed

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jan 84 p 1

[Editorial: "In Georgian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular session, the Georgia CP Central Committee Buro adopted the decree by the Georgia CP Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers regarding the order of the comprehensive program for development of the consumer goods and the population services system in the Georgian SSR for 1986-2000. In the decree it is emphasized that in the course of the comprehensive program formation in local areas they need to work out the specific measures directed towards all and every increase in production, widening of the assortment and increasing the quality of goods for people's consumption and the services provided for the population on the basis of the wide utilization of advanced techniques and technology, increased effectiveness of work in the branches and enterprises that produce these goods and the area of population services for the benefit of increasing the welfare of the Soviet people.

The Secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee heard the account of D. A. Lordkipanidze, a member of the CPSU, docent of the History of the CPSU Chair No 1 of the Tbilisi State University and candidate of Historical Sciences, regarding the restructuring of the learning-educational process in light of the demands of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It was noted that serious thoughtful preparation for lectures, organization of broad discussions of currently vital important questions touching on the interests of the contemporary youth during the seminar classes, connection of the theoretical questions of the course taught with the practical problems of the developed socialist society, organization for the in-depth studying of the works of Marxism-Leninism classics and teaching students the skills for independent work on the primary sources assists in the active perception of the studied course on the party history by its listeners and in the transformation of the received knowledge into firm convictions. Such effective measures for teaching the history of the party course such as conducting individual class meetings at the Tbilisi branch of the Central Lenin Museum, Museum of Peoples Friendship, Museum of the Illegal Avlabar Printing-House,

etc. were approved. Together with this, they addressed their attention to the necessity of well-reasoned criticism of the bourgeois ideology, anti-communist falsifying concepts of our party's history and the slanderous bourgeois propaganda fabrications.

In the decree adopted regarding this question, the measures are mapped out directed towards the further improvement in work concerning the increase in the level of teaching of social sciences in the higher educational establishments.

Having discussed the question about the Komsomol members and youth participation in the development of nut raising, the Secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee noted that young men and women of the republic actively support the patriotic initiative of the Dushet youth and carry out a great deal of work on the planting and care of the nut plantations. The LKSM [Communist Youth League] Central Committee is entrusted with the coordination of the entire work on planting and care for the nut crops in the republic. The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers is assigned to take measures to ensure the Komsomol organizations supply of the necessary quantities of nut seedlings.

At the sessions of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, some other questions were also discussed regarding the people's economical and socio-political life in the republic.

On Marxism-Leninism University

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jan 84 p 1

[Editorial: "In the Georgian CP Central committee"]

[Text] At its regular session, The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of measures regarding the perfecting of the work of the Marxism-Leninism University of the Georgian CP Central Committee in light of the requirements of the June and December (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums. It was noted that the Marxism-Leninism University of the Georgian CP Central Committee and its branches carry out definite work towards increasing the ideological-theoretical level and the political knowledge of the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic cadres, propagandists and a wide scope of ideological activists. However, in the organization of the learning process and the scientific-methodological work, they still have many facts of formal attitude and the separation of the practical tasks of party organizations and the specific problems of socio-economical and cultural life in the republic. In the decree adopted on this question the measures are mapped out directed toward perfecting the form and content of the Marxism-Leninism University of the Georgian CP Central Committee activity, elevating its role as an educational institution in the system of party education to the level of the contemporary party demands and toward establishing ideological work, and the preparation and training of cadres.

Having heard the account by comrade R. I. Dzhevakhishvili, the first secretary of the Leninskiy raykom of the city of Tbilisi regarding the course of

fulfillment of the remarks and wishes pronounced at the character reference confirmation, the Buro of the Georgian CP Central Committee noted that in his activity, he addresses his main attention to the questions of further perfecting the party leadership in economy, strengthening the party, state and labor discipline and the solution of the social problems in the rayon. Together with this, attention is directed toward the necessity of further improving the Buro work style, the persistent increase of the role of the party raykom plenums in the solution of current problems and to a more energetic introduction of the new forms of the territorial-interbranch management of the rayon people's economy.

Having discussed the question concerning the course of the cattle wintering in the Tetrtskaroyfskiy Rayon farms, the Buro of the Georgian CP Central Committee recognized the work of the Party, soviet and agricultural organs as insufficient in this respect. The Tetrtskaroyfskiy party raykom, together with the Georgian SSR State Committee of Agricultural Production, is entrusted to carry out measures for the radical restructuring of the work and activation of the existing resources in the procurement volume of high quality fodders and for the increase in cattle and fowl production. The republic party committees, ministries and departments that have livestock facilities, are ordered to systematically control the course of cattle wintering and the production indicators in the branch for the purpose of ensuring that all plan assignments are fulfilled.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat adopted a decision regarding holding, in Tbilisi in April, 1984, the republic seminar-conference for leaders of the subdivisions that function at the party, soviet and public organizations, for the purpose of studying public opinion.

Also, a decision was adopted on conducting accounts and elections in the organs of management and control in the organizations of the consumer cooperatives of Georgia in the current year.

At the sessions of the Georgia CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, some other questions were also considered which dealt with the economic and socio-political life of the republic.

12404

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REGIONAL

TAJIK CP CC BURO MEETINGS REPORTED

Improvements in Brigade System Planned

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 16 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan at its regular meeting examined the question of further development and bolstering of the effectiveness of the brigade form of organization and motivation of labor in industry. It was pointed out that almost half of the workers of this sector of the association are in brigades. Most of them are working on a single order with pay based on the end result. New-type brigades are being created--integrated [kompleksnyye] and multiple-skill [skvoznyye], where labor productivity grows more quickly, worktime losses are reduced, resources are economized and labor discipline is strengthened.

At the same time, it was noted at the meeting, that at the industrial enterprises of a number of ministries and departments more attention was paid in creation of brigades to the quantitative side of the matter to the detriment of the qualitative. In their staffing, no provision is made for improving intraplant planning, technology and organization of production, norm setting and pay.

Republic ministries and departments, heads of associations and enterprises and party and trade-union organizations are charged with implementing measures for planned development of the brigade form of organization and pay and with doing this work on the basis of thorough analysis, without excessive haste. The work of the brigade widely employs the principles of cost accounting with pay based on the end result and distribution of pay with the use of the coefficient of labor participation.

The buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan discussed additional measures for increasing the production and procurement of vegetables in the republic. For these ends, it is planned to create new specialized sovkhozes within the system of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, to expand areas for vegetable crops, to organize at a number of farms specialized departments for the production of vegetable produce and to improve vegetable and melon crops.

The buro examined the results of the republic socialist competition for attainment in 1983 of the best indicators in fodder harvesting and procurement for public animal husbandry and adopted a suitable decree. The winners were declared to be Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, Fayzabadskiy Rayon and Tsentralnyy Rayon of Dushanbe.

At the meeting of the buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, there were also examined several other questions connected with the further social-economic development of the republic.

Progress of Party Elections Noted

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan has discussed the question of the course of election party meetings in the republic. I.F. Dedov, chief of the Department of Party Organizational Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, presented a report. The comment was made that the election meetings of the primary party organizations and rayon, city and oblast party conferences had taken place in an organized manner at a high political level and contributed to the further strengthening of the party ranks, development of internal party democracy and improvement of the forms and methods of party supervision over the fulfillment of economic and social tasks facing labor collectives. Communists disclosed with party high standards and adherence to principles reserves for growth of public production and means of improving party organizational and political educational work.

At the election meetings and conferences, communists unanimously approved the internal and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. On the whole, the meetings took place in an atmosphere of efficiency, self-criticism and mutual insistence on high standards. They served as an example of collective interest in the state of affairs among the labor collectives. This was aided by strict fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Holding Reports and Elections at Primary, Rayon, City, Okrug, Oblast and Kray Party Organizations." As a rule, worthy people were elected who had displayed their best side in production and in public life. Many women were among them.

Workers and kolkhoz farmers actively participated in the election party meetings. It is noteworthy that they made many comments and valuable proposals, among them those pertaining to republic organizations. In this connection, some election party meetings did not take place at an appropriate level or with a concrete analysis of the state of affairs. Speeches assumed the character of self-accounting, and economic questions sometimes predominated in them.

Today the task of party committees is attentively, in a businesslike way, to analyze proposals and critical comments of the delegates and to implement effective measures so that they are embodied in practical affairs.

The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan also examined the question of preliminary results of fulfillment by the republic's labor collectives of plans and commitments adopted for the third year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Information was provided by V.Ye. Novichkov, R.G. Gafurov and R.M. Grishin, deputy chairmen of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and heads of a number of republic ministries and departments.

It was pointed out that the workers of many sectors of the national economy, selflessly striving for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, are attaining levels prescribed by the five-year plan of economic and social development. Indicators are improving of fulfillment of plans in industry, construction, transport and agriculture; the living standard of the republic's workers is rising. Labor and production discipline is becoming perceptibly stronger. All this makes it possible to produce above the year's target different products worth tens of millions of rubles.

At the meeting, sharp criticism was directed at the heads of certain ministries and departments, who failed to ensure in full volume fulfillment of the requirements of the decree of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan of 10 October of the current year, adopted on the basis of the results of fulfillment of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the Republic for 9 Months and Measures for the Successful Completion of the Target for 1983 and the 3 Years of the Five-Year Plan. There are particularly defects in capital construction. Ministers and departments and contractors and clients have been unable to properly mobilize available resources and means for ensuring the startup of facilities stipulated by the plan of economic and social development of the republic for 1983, although overfulfillment of the plan for startup of fixed capital is expected for agriculture this year. The plan for making housing available is not being fulfilled. Many construction organizations are still not fulfilling plans of contract work, labor productivity is low, cadre turnover is great and the norm of length of time for construction of facilities is not being adhered to.

Deficiencies exist in the sphere of trade and consumer and transport services.

The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan has ordered party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and ministries and departments to mobilize existing material-technical, financial and labor resources for the successful completion of the 1983 economic year so as to assure from the first days of the new year smooth-flowing work in all parts of the economy.

Guided by the decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee relating to the drafts of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget for 1984, even more attention should be paid to strengthening labor, production and performance discipline and raising the level of delivery discipline. Socialist competition ought to be more widely expanded and achievements of science and advanced experience and the brigade form of organization and pay should be introduced universally. Organization, efficiency, initiative and greater personal accountability from the rank-and-file worker to a minister are of great importance.

In the course of determination of tasks for 1984, it was noted that for the fourth year of the five-year plan large volumes are being set in all sectors of the economy, which in turn imposes problems of more thorough looking for reserves, more diligent management and most economical expenditure of metal, power and other resources. Growth of capital investment should create higher volume.

Party organizations must intensify educational work among labor collectives, especially among builders, and pay attention to keeping cadres, improving material-technical supply and perfecting work style and methods.

In agriculture, efficient use of land and expansion of its area are of top-priority importance. A task was set of maximally speeding up the cleanup of cotton fields and doing late fall plowing. Exemplary organization and successful carrying out of wintering of livestock should be at the center of attention of party, soviet and agricultural organs.

In the adoption of socialist commitments for 1984, it was recommended to establish higher gains.

In conclusion, R.N. Nabiyeu, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, spoke at the meeting. S.M. Nesterenko, a responsible member of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the meeting's work.

1984 State Budget Ratified

Dushanbe, KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 5 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] At a regular meeting of the buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, drafts of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of Tajik SSR and the republic's State Budget for 1984 were examined and basically approved. It was declared necessary to ensure strict fulfillment of the instructions of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov for searching out additional reserves of production, organizing socialist competition for above-plan raising of labor productivity, reducing production cost and improving the quality of goods for the people.

It was recommended that the drafts of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development and the republic's State Budget for 1984 be submitted for examination at the next plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and session of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

The buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan examined the question of arranging a discussion of the draft of the CPSU Central Committee's "Basic Directions of the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools" among labor collectives of enterprises, institutions and organizations. It was emphasized that in the discussion of the draft it was important to comprehensively show the historic achievements of the Soviet school, the constant concern of the party and the state for all-out improvement of public

education and for educating a citizen of socialist society, an active builder of communism with ideological principles, morality, interests and high standards of labor and behavior characteristic of him. The buro noted that the submission of questions of school reform for nationwide discussion should be utilized for demonstrating the genuine democratism of the socialist state and the Leninist style of work by the party--for consulting with the people on the most important problems affecting the interests of society and of each Soviet individual. The outlined measures for reform of the general educational and vocational school must be considered as a component part of the work of the party and the state on improving developed socialist society.

The buro examined the question of awarding transferable Red Banners of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and monetary bonuses to winners in the socialist competition for the best preparation of the republic's schools and other public-education institutions for the 1983-1984 school year and implementation of universal secondary education. The winners were declared to be Tsentralnyy Rayon (Dushanbe) and Ashtskiy Rayon of Leninabad Oblast. They were awarded transferable Red Banners and monetary first prizes. Monetary second prizes were awarded to the city of Tursunzade and Moskovskiy Rayon. The good work of Shuknanskiy Rayon in this direction was pointed out.

At the buro's meeting, the results of subscription to newspapers and magazines for 1984 were examined. It was noted that this campaign in the republic had taken place in an organized manner and at a high political level. Average annual circulations of republic, oblast, city and rayon newspapers and magazines were approved for 1984.

The buro also discussed certain other questions pertaining to the economic and social development of the republic.

Agroindustrial Worker Qualifications Examined

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 12 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] At a regular meeting of the buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, socialist commitments of agricultural workers of Gissarskiy Rayon, Rokhi Lenin Sovkhoz of Ura-Tyubinskiy Rayon, Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin of Dzhilikul'skiy Rayon and Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Moskovskiy Rayon were approved for successfully carrying out wintering of livestock and increasing the production and purchases of animal-husbandry products during the winter season of 1983-1984. These had been adopted by them in response to the decision of the December (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the directives of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu.V. Andropov set forth in his speech at the plenum. It was recognized necessary to provide all-out support for these initiatives and to intensify organizational and political work relating to the broad launching of the All-Union and Republic Socialist Competition for Attainment of High Indicators in the Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of Adopted Plans and Socialist Commitments for Production and Sale to the State of Animal-Husbandry Products.

To increase the role and responsibility of managers and specialists of kol-khozes, sovkhozes, intereconomic enterprises and other members of the agro-industrial complex for raising productivity and ensuring the safety of livestock on the basis of adoption of achievements of science and technology, use of progressive forms of labor organization and pay and the creation of an atmosphere of high standards and discipline among all labor collectives. To systematically sum up the results of socialist competition, to encourage in every way pacemakers and innovators, to extend assistance to laggards and to eliminate cases of mismanagement in the use of material-technical and fodder resources.

The buro studied measures for the further expansion of the movement for the development and fulfillment of counterplans by industrial production associations and enterprises. It is important to support in every way the initiative of labor collectives for working out of such plans which are aimed at raising labor productivity, reducing production cost, expanding the output of products of the highest category of quality and improving other qualitative indicators and at ensuring growth of production volume through economy of resources.

To fully utilize in the practical work of working out and fulfilling counterplans the possibilities presented by the USSR Law on Labor Collectives and Growth of their Role in Management of Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations. The adoption and successful implementation of counter plans is one of the most important forms of involving in production existing reserves for the purpose of fulfillment of plan targets and active participation of workers in management of production.

The buro examined and approved the initiative of leading collectives and production pacemakers for a worthy celebration of the election to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the meeting of the buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, certain other questions were examined relating to economic and cultural construction in the republic.

7697

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REGIONAL

NURIYEV, VOSS SPEAK AT LATVIAN RED BANNER MEETING

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[Lat INFORM [Latvian News Agency] item: "The Award Inspires and Obligates" The Awarding to Latvian SSR of the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee"]

[Text] On 24 February in Riga, in the House of Political Enlightenment, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia [LCP] a meeting was held for the party, Soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and economic activists, jointly with representatives of worker collectives in the republic, which meeting was devoted to the awarding to Latvian SSR of the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee on the basis of the results of the 1983 All-Union Socialist Competition.

Those who gathered in the auditorium included workers of city and countryside -- managers and innovators in advanced collectives, figures in the field of culture, science, and art, and party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers.

The presidium consisted of CPSU Central Committee member, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Z. N. Nuriyev; Comrades A. E. Voss, I. A. Anderson, E. Ya. Aushkap, A. V. Betekhtin, Ya. Ya. Vagris, V. I. Dmitriyev, A. E. Ikauniyek, Yu. Ya. Ruben, V. A. Chemm, A. K. Zitmanis, E. M. Osols, and B. K. Pugo; and CPSU Central Committee sector chief M. S. Khozyainov. In addition, there were deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of Latvian SSR, responsible party and Soviet workers, and notables from the republic.

The meeting was opened by CPSU Central Committee member, 1st Secretary of the LCP A. E. Voss.

The participants enthusiastically elected an honorary presidium made up of the Politburo of the Leninist CPSU Central Committee.

The floor was turned over to CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Z. N. Nuriyev.

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee have acknowledged the winner in the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment of the 1983 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR to be the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and have awarded it the challenge Red Banner.

It is with a large amount of joy that I carry out the instruction of the party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and deliver to the republic the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee.

To the accompaniment of warm applause by the participants of the meeting, Z. N. Nuriyev delivered the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. The award was accepted by Comrades A. E. Voss, Yu. Ya. Ruben, A. K. Zitmanis; 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Komsomol M. K. Rukmane; Latvian Leninist Komsomol Prize winner, spinner at the Rigas Manufaktura Production Cotton-Fabrics Association in Riga, T. B. Mazure; Heroes of Socialist Labor, adjustment specialist at the Riga Order of Lenin Production Association of VEF [State Electrical-Engineering Plant] imeni V. I. Lenin, G. M. Grineva and Chairman of the Order of the Red Banner of Labor Kolkhoz, Krasnyy Oktyabr', Preyl'skiy Rayon, R. V. Kavinskiy.

"Comrades!" Z. N. Nuriyev went on to say. "It is with a special sense of satisfaction that I convey to the workers of Soviet Latvia warm greetings and the warmest congratulations on having won this high award, as well as the wishes for new successes from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko."

The decisions of the February Plenum were perceived by the Soviet nation, and by our foreign friends, as testimony of the succession in the policy of the Leninist Party.

At the Plenum it was emphasized with particular force that our party will continue to strengthen the positive tendencies in the development of the country's socioeconomic life, and will continue to place its emphasis on specific, practical deeds and the reinforcement of order, discipline, and organizational spirit.

Comrades! Implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Plenums of the party's Central Committee, the Soviet nation has achieved considerable success in the country's economic and social development.

A special place in the fulfillment of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan belongs to the year 1983. That year was marked by a considerable increase in the rates of economic development, by an increase in the production of manufactured and agricultural output, by the improvement of the qualitative work indicators, and by a rise in the standard of living of the country's population.

Last year the national income increased by 14.5 billion rubles and came to more than 530 billion. The output of industry increased by 29 billion rubles and exceeded 752 billion rubles.

In 1983 we saw the activation of approximately 200 new state industrial enterprises. We turned over for operation a large number of apartment buildings, schools, hospitals, preschool institutions, and other projects intended for social and cultural purposes. We continued to carry out measures to raise the national standard of living.

There was an increase in the rates of development of the country's agroindustrial complex. Last year the production of gross output in agriculture reached 134 billion rubles. That is 6.4 billion rubles more than in 1982. That is the first time that our country has produced this amount of output. Its entire increase was assured by an increase in labor productivity.

We brought in a rather good grain harvest. The plans for selling it were fulfilled by many republics, krays, and oblasts. For the country as a whole the plans for purchases of potatoes and vegetables were overfulfilled. Under complicated meteorological conditions, the plan for purchases of raw cotton was fulfilled. There was a substantial increase in the purchases of sugar beets, fruits, berries, and other output of vegetable husbandry.

The purchases of livestock and poultry, as compared with 1982, increased by 1,466,000 tons; milk, by 5,404,000 tons; and eggs by 1.8 billion. In 1983 the established plans for the production of output were overfulfilled by enterprises in the ministries of the food and meat-and-dairy industries, fruit-and-vegetable and fish management, procurements, and the microbiological industry. All this made it possible to achieve somewhat of an improvement in the supplying of the country's population with food products.

Comrades! Together with the rest of the Soviet nation, the workers of Soviet Latvia have been working selflessly for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress and have been making their worthy contribution to this cause.

Last year the plan for overall volume of industrial output was fulfilled in the republic by 101.6 percent. Its production, as compared with 1982, rose by 2.6 percent. Output valued at 123 million rubles was sold in excess of plan. The assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan for increase in the volume of commercial output and labor productivity in industry were successfully fulfilled. The entire increase in industrial production was obtained last year from the increase in labor productivity.

The production potential that was created in the republic's industry during the years of the Soviet authority, thanks to the creative labor performed by the workers and the unselfish assistance provided by all the fraternal peoples of our great Motherland, is being used well. The republic's workers can be proud of their industry, because today that industry yields 49 times more output than it did in 1940.

But it is not only a matter of the quantitative growth, although that factor is of no small importance. I would like to emphasize that important qualitative changes have occurred in our republic's industry, and the branches that determine scientific-technical progress have been created and are

developing successfully. The output of many enterprises in the republic's industry is known and enjoys a large demand not only in our own country, but also abroad. At the present time the republic delivers industrial output to more than a hundred countries throughout the world.

Honor and glory to the heroic working class of Soviet Latvia!

The republic's agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex also rest upon a solid production base. That has enabled the kolkhozes and sovkhoses to withstand the years that have been difficult for agriculture, to prevent a large drop in the production of output, and to take a new step last year in the development of all branches of agriculture.

In 1983 the republic's agricultural workers produced gross output in the volume of 1,782,000 rubles more than in 1982. With regard to the volume of production of gross output of agriculture, last year became a record-breaking year for the republic. The rate of growth of production was higher than the average for the country.

That is a great achievement, comrades! With all my heart I congratulate the agricultural workers and all the other workers in the republic on this labor victory!

The year 1983 was also successfully completed by other branches in the agroindustrial complex. The plan for sale of industrial output was fulfilled by them by 103.3 percent.

Comrades! In addition to our republic, the challenge Red Banners have also been awarded to the capital of Soviet Latvia -- Riga -- to the Kraslavskiy and Rizhskiy Rural Rayons, and more than 30 industrial enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses.

The awardees include the collectives of industrial production associations that are known throughout the country -- VEF imeni V. I. Lenin, Khimvolokno imeni Leninskiy Komsomol, Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitel'nyy Zavod, and other associations and enterprises.

I would especially like to note the successes achieved by the renowned collective at the Aurora Stocking Factory in Riga, who have been emerging as the victor in the All-Union Socialist Competition for a number of years. The persons who work there are, for the most part, women and girls, and therefore, I would like to take this occasion to ask you to convey to them our best wishes on the forthcoming International Woman's Day, 8 March, and to wish them much personal happiness and prosperity.

Other winners in the socialist competition among agricultural workers were the collectives of the following kolkhozes: Krasnyy Oktyabr', Preyl'skiy Rayon; Yaunays Komunars, Saldusskiy Rayon; sovkhoses: Riga, Rizhskiy Rayon, and Berze, Dobel'skiy Rayon; and other farms.

Please allow me to give my heartiest congratulations to all the collectives at the advanced enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses in the republic on their

having won the high awards of their Motherland and to wish them new successes in the fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 26th party congress.

The republic's achievements are the result of the large amount of political and organizing work performed by the LCP Central Committee, the LaCCP Council of Ministers, all the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, and the unselfish labor of many collectives at enterprises and organizations.

At industrial enterprises and on kolkhozes and sovkhoses throughout the republic, the ranks of the advanced personnel in the competition are multiplying. They include Comrades Galina Mikhaylovna Grineva, adjustment specialist at VEF Association, member of the LCP Central Committee, Hero of Socialist Labor, candidate deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet; Arnis Fridrikhovich Karklin', lathe operator at the Avtoelektropribor Plant, Hero of Socialist Labor; Yan Boleslavovich Rantsan, leader of construction-worker brigade at Promtekhmontazh Trust; Yekaterina Vasil'yevna Zaytseva, sewing-machine operator at the Latviya Association; Lutsiya Yanovna Petersone, machine-milking foreman at the Ledurga Kolkhoz, Limbzhskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Labor; Stanislav Yazepovich Livmanis, machine-milking foreman at the Jaunpils Experimental Station, Hero of Socialist Labor, candidate deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet; Ignat Eduardovich Spila, link leader, Lachplesis Kolkhoz, Ogrskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Labor, USSR State Prize Winner, candidate deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet.

It is impossible to list all the advanced workers. They exist on every farm, at every enterprise and organize in the republic. Please allow me to express profound gratitude to all the best workers and kolkhoz members and other workers in Soviet Latvia for their unselfish labor for the good of our beloved Motherland!

Comrades! Large and important tasks confront the national economy of our country and Latvian SSR in 1984. I shall not give the figures in our plans. They are well known. In addition, they were the subject of a very business-like discussion at today's plenum of the LCP Central Committee. Those plans are strenuous ones and their fulfillment will require the further increase in the effectiveness of production.

Our republic's workers have taken on a good rate of speed since the beginning of this year. In January, industry increased the sale of output, as compared with January of last year, by 6.3 percent; labor productivity, by 5.5 percent. As compared with last year the purchases of livestock and poultry as of 15 February this year increased by 17 percent; and milk, by 11 percent.

It is now very important not to lower the rates that have been built up, but, on the contrary, to increase them, and we have the opportunities for doing this. It is necessary first of all to raise the level of use of production capacities for the production of industrial output, to guarantee the smooth operation of all enterprises, to eliminate the equipment idle-time periods between shifts, to increase the coefficient of shift operation for the use of that equipment, and to reinforce labor discipline in all work sectors. It is also necessary to devote attention to the precise fulfillment by all industrial enterprises of the contract pledges for shipments of output.

In agriculture it is necessary to complete in an organized manner the wintering-over operations for livestock and to prepare for the carrying out of the springtime field operations, and to develop ahead of time the measures for switching the livestock over to summertime maintenance. For each animal farm it is necessary to think out carefully the organization of the green conveyor belt, in order to provide animal husbandry completely with inexpensive summertime fodders. The springtime field operations will be beginning soon. The agroindustrial associations must think out the sowing tactics, must conduct that sowing -- as you know so well how to do -- in compressed periods of time, thus laying a good foundation for obtaining a good harvest this year.

Comrades! In order for our constructive plans to be realized, we need peace. In the present-day complicated and extremely strained situation our party and the Soviet government are doing everything possible to preserve and strengthen the peace, to protect mankind from a nuclear war, and to expand and deepen the mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Our country is aware of its responsibility to the nations for the preservation and strengthening of the peace. We are in favor of the peaceful resolution of all the disputed interenational problems by means of serious, completely equal, constructive negotiations. This firm peace-loving line of our party and our government enjoys the complete support of the Soviet nation. It finds the understanding and approval of all people of good will.

In conclusion please allow me, dear comrades, once again to give warm and cordial congratulations to you and to all the workers of Soviet Latvia on the awarding to the republic of the Red Banner and to express my assurance that the republic's workers will do everything that is needed for the successful implementation of the tasks posed for our country by our party's 26th congress.

The next speaker was CPSU Central Committee member, 1st Secretary of the LCP Central Committee A. E. Voss.

Dear comrades! We find ourselves under the tremendous impression of a large and exciting event. Just a few moments ago our republic was given the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. On this joyous and festive day please allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of Latvian SSR, and in the name of the participants of our meeting and all the workers in our republic, to express to the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee the deepest appreciation and heartfelt gratitude for this high recognition of our work in the third year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

With a sense of tremendous joy and pride we have perceived the cordial congratulations from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. The high, inspiring evaluation by the party and government of the successes achieved by the workers of Soviet

Latvia, and the cordial greeting and warm congratulation by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko -- all these are viewed by us as a new and powerful impetus in the struggle for the successful implementation of the decisions of our party's 26th Congress and all the plans for the five-year plan.

Our meeting is proceeding under the influence of the ideas and decisions of the extraordinary February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the republic's party organization which evolve from the principles and conclusions contained in the speech given at the Plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko have been discussed in detail today at the plenum of the LCP Central Committee.

The Plenum of the LCP Central Committee has shown with new force that the Communists and all the workers of the republic, like the rest of the Soviet nation, unanimously support and warmly approve the decision of the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the election of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as General Secretary of our party's Central Committee. The February Plenum of the Central Committee has confirmed with the maximum amount of precision and clarity the succession of our domestic and foreign policy, and our party's firm resolve to continue to travel along the time-tested Leninist course. The Plenum demonstrated with new force, clearly and convincingly, the unity of the party and the nation. This inviolable unity finds its especially brilliant expression in the course of preparation for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. At this time the Communists and all the workers of our republic are consolidating their ranks even more closely around the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, and are firmly resolved to fight wholeheartedly for the successful carrying out of the domestic and foreign policy that was developed by the party's 26th congress and the subsequent Plenums of its Central Committee.

Going on to describe the results of last year, A. E. Voss commented that it was a year of intensive, truly selfless labor. He analyzed in detail the fulfillment of the programs for the economic and social development of the republic.

A. E. Voss expressed with all his heart and soul his gratitude to the innovators and advanced workers in production, all those who had made their contribution to the republic's achievements, and cordially thanked them for their selfless labor and for their good deeds that they had performed for the glory of our multinational socialist Motherland.

Then the speaker mentioned the first results of this year's work. January's results attest to the fact that the republic's labor collectives have taken a good start from the very first days of the year. The January assignment in industry was overfulfilled. There has been an intensification of the tension in the work of all subdivisions of the agorindustrial complex. A firm foundation has been laid on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes for this year's harvest. The livestock wintering-over process is proceeding in a more organized manner than previously. In general, both in industry and in agriculture people have begun working better and showing more concern for the final results.

However, the speaker emphasized, this gives us no grounds for complacency. We do not have the right to forget, even on such a festive day as today, about the unresolved questions, our difficulties, our shortcomings. It is necessary always to be clearly aware that that which has been achieved is by no means the limit, that we have a lot of unused reserves and opportunities. The analysis of January's results which was made at the bureau of the LCP Central Committee indicates that certain administrators in ministries and departments, associations and enterprises, failed to take the proper steps to guarantee steady, smooth operation in the labor collectives. At a number of enterprises and organizations the labor productivity is growing slowly, the quality of the output is improving insufficiently, and the assignments for the introduction of new technology and advanced experience are not being fulfilled.

The party, Soviet, and economic agencies, and the trade-union and Komsomol organizations are obliged to take exhaustive steps to establish exemplary order in all sectors of the national economy, at each work location. This is also important because more important and more complicated tasks, and higher goals, still lie ahead of us.

As is well known, the chief emphasis in our socialist pledges is made on increasing the effectiveness of production, and improving its qualitative features. This is something that completely corresponds to the principles stated by the 26th party congress and the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. That which must specifically be done in this direction was mentioned in detail at a plenum of the LCP Central Committee at which there was a discussion of our tasks in connection with the decisions of the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the speech at that Plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko. What questions and problems require our greatest attention and efforts? First of all, the questions of the intensification and accelerated introduction into production of the achievements of science and technology, the carrying out of large-scale comprehensive programs, and the reinforcement of order and organizational spirit. This is the very core of our socialist pledges, the nucleus of all our practical work in increasing effectiveness and quality. The absolutely primary question here is increasing labor productivity. We have pledged to increase it in excess of the plan by one percent and to reduce production costs by an additional 0.5 percent. And this pledge must be fulfilled completely at each enterprise, in each labor collective. At the present time our calendars show the end of February. Consequently, that work must not be delayed until tomorrow, or especially not until the day after tomorrow. It must be carried out constantly, at every enterprise, at every work location, using for that purpose not individual measures, but a comprehensive systems approach.

In activating all the available reserves, it is necessary to continue in the center of one's attention the task of the complete improvement of the quality of the output being produced. We have done a lot in this direction. And we are obliged to continue to work even more persistently and more purposefully and, by our collective efforts, move farther ahead the work that has been begun.

It is necessary everywhere to intensify the attention of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, and the trade-union and Komsomol organizations, on the

resolution of the tasks that were posed by our country's Food Program. Here we can and must achieve greater effectiveness by improving the agro-technology, by increasing the efficiency of agriculture, by introducing the proper order on the land, and by waging a persistent and purposeful struggle to increase the harvest yield on literally every hectare of sown areas. Something that must continue to be the object of our particular concern is the increase in the productivity of livestock and poultry, the increase in the production of meat, milk, and other products of animal husbandry.

The carrying out of the principles stated by the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and all the large tasks of the five-year plan, would be inconceivable without the further development of the socialist competition. This mass patriotic movement has developed hundreds and thousands of advanced workers and innovators in production, and true experts in their field. Their experience represents an exceptionally large wealth. It is the duty of the party organizations and all the economic managers to take a painstaking attitude toward that wealth, to use it in the broadest and most effective manner, and to get a complete return on it. We must take steps everywhere to raise the level of organization of the socialist competition, must involve in it every worker, every brigade, every labor collective. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which today's goal for the innovators becomes tomorrow's standard for everyone.

During the period of the preparation for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, we have heard and we continue to hear a large number of businesslike recommendations for improving the work of the enterprises and organizations, for making more complete use of the production reserves. All these recommendations and critical comments made by the workers, the speaker noted, must be carefully considered in the practical work of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, and public organizations. We must promptly discern and support the people's initiative, and, in the broadest sense, from a thrifty, creative attitude toward the job at hand at the work location to active participation in the administration of the state and society. Herein lies a very great, inexhaustible reserve for our progress.

The acceleration of the intensification of the national economy, the successful fulfillment of the established assignments, largely depends upon the economic managers. The February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has given us the following task -- display at all level more independence, carry out a bold search, and take, if necessary, a justified risk in the name of increasing the effectiveness of the economy, the rise in the national welfare. Special attention in the statement was paid then to the need to maintain the rate that has been built up, the overall emphasis on the practical resolution of the tasks, the constant raising of the level of party and state management of the economic, the more active development of the positive tendencies, and the giving of a stable nature to them. These are the principles as stated at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and they must be carried out consistently and constantly.

In accepting the challenge Red Banner, A. E. Voss said in conclusion, we are perfectly aware that this award is not only the recognition of the merits of the workers in the republic, but also a sign of great trust, an advance on

the future. Please allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee that the workers of Soviet Latvia, in the fraternal family of the Soviet republics, will considerably multiply their efforts in the struggle to increase the effectiveness of production and the quality of work and will make a worthy contribution to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments of the fourth year and the entire five-year plan, and to the unconditional carrying out of the resolutions of the historic 26th congress of our party.

The speeches by Comrades Z. N. Nuriyev and A. E. Voss were heard with a large amount of attention and were repeatedly interrupted by applause.

Those who spoke at the meeting included adjustment specialist at the Riga Production Association of the VEF imeni V. I. Lenin, Hero of Socialist Labor G. M. Grineva; 1st Secretary of the party's Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee, Riga, Ya. E. Nesaule; link leader at the Order of Lenin Lachplesis Kolkhoz, Ogrskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Labor I. E. Spila; 1st Secretary of the party's Liyepayskiy Rayon Committee Ya. K. Yursons; and director of the Riga Order of the Red Banner of Labor Aurora Stocking Factory, V. P. Moskovskiy.

In the name of their collectives and the workers of the entire republic, they spoke of the unanimous approval of the party's domestic and foreign policy, and the party's Leninist Central Committee, and discussed the successes and prospects of the economic and social development of Latvia in the fraternal family of the peoples of our country, and the work being done in the collectives to locate and use the reserves for the further intensification of industrial production, for accelerating scientific-technical progress, and reinforcing discipline and organizational spirit. It was emphasized that the workers of our republic have accepted as a guide for action the decisions of the December 1983 and extraordinary February Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the speech at the latter Plenum by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko. The consistent party course, which is aimed at the further upsurge of the country's economy, the raising of the standard of living of the Soviet nation, and the preservation of peace on earth, determines the scope and rhythm of the socialist competition for the implementation of the plans for communist construction.

The meeting participants expressed the firm resolve of the workers of Soviet Latvia to respond to the high decoration awarded by their Motherland by performing selfless labor, their resolve to meet in a worthy manner the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to complete ahead of schedule the assignments of 1984 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

To the accompaniment of tumultuous applause the meeting participants accepted the letter of greetings to be sent to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee.

The meeting that was devoted to the awarding of the high award to Latvian SSR was declared to be closed.

REGIONAL

WORK OF ESTONIAN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS DETAILED

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 1, Jan 84 pp 40-44

[Article by V. Niynoya, candidate of history, and N. Korkhova, senior scientific associate: "Party Work and Information Centers"]*

[Text] Every party organization has its own work experience--experience accumulated in concrete conditions. The timely and profound study, generalization and dissemination of it is an important task of the party committees and organizations, the party workers and the aktiv. At the present time, when paramount significance is being attached to the further improvement and increase in activity of the entire system of party leadership, the accumulation and dissemination of work experience and intra-party information play a most important role in this system.

The analysis and generalization of work experience on the basis of extensive and objective information is carried out in links of the party. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the necessity of making more active use of the information of the primary party organizations. The information received by the party organizations from below is the most reliable measure of the effectiveness of party work. In the broader scheme of things, it aids in the better study of the society in which we live and work. And this, as was underscored at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by Yu. V. Andropov, is especially important in the enterprise of the improvement of developed socialism.

The bits of new experience contained in the information from below are taken into consideration in the activity of the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, so as to take a differentiated approach to every primary or plant party organization, every party group, to study the aktiv and to help it to function better. The exchange of information between the superordinated party organs and the lower links of the party, in the process of which progressive experience is brought out, analyzed and utilized, makes it possible for the party to construct its activity correctly and to increase its guiding and directing role.

*The sector of party construction of the Institute of the History of the Party attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia generalized the activity of the party work and information centers of the gorkoms and raykoms of the party. Some results of the generalization are utilized in this article.

The party work and information centers of the party committees are an effective organizational form, which guarantees the fruitfulness of the generalization, dissemination and introduction of the best experience. They extend methodological and practical assistance to workers in the party and soviet apparatus, to the secretaries of the primary party organizations and to other members of the elected party aktiv in their daily activity with respect to the increase of the creative activity of the communists, the improvement of the style, methods and forms of the work of the lower links of the party. Based on a broad aktiv, methodological councils for party work and information operate in the centers.

The gorkoms and raykoms of the party have begun, on a planned and scientific basis, to study, generalize and disseminate more broadly the progressive experience of organizational party work from the mid-1960's, having created non-staff commissions for this. The first such commissions were created by the raykoms of the party in the city of Tallinn in 1964. Active work was done by the commission of the Kalinin Raykom headed by the then-member of the raykom, engineer of the locomotive depot of the Estonian department of the Baltic Railway, G. Pimenova. The members of the commission studied in detail the activity of the party groups in the enterprises of the rayon and the practice of the preparation and conduct of party meetings. Many questions raised by the commissions were taken to the plenums and sessions of the raykom party buro.

The role of the commissions for organizational party work in the collection of party information and the generalization of experience has significantly increased with time. The 23rd CPSU Congress obligated the party organs to show tireless concern for the primary party organizations and to generalize, on a regular and systematic basis, everything new that arises in their many-sided activity. Interesting material has begun to accumulate in the party committees on the work of party organizations, their internal life, economic and cultural construction, and the work and everyday life of people. It has become urgently necessary to make use of the generalizations and conclusions of the commissions not only in the activity of the apparatus of the party committees, but above all for the training of the broad aktiv, which most of all is in need of methodological assistance. The commissions were transformed into methodological councils for organizational party work. Beginning in the mid-1970's, the gorkoms and raykoms of the party began to create organizational party work centers.

The centers and their methodological councils from the very beginning worked in close contact with the non-staff information sectors of the party committees. Serious attention was given to the improvement of intra-party information as an instrument of guidance, education and control, and joint measures were conducted. Their results had a positive effect on the quality of the work of the primary party organizations and the style of the activity of the party committees. For example, the practice of the conduct of party meetings of the Khar'yuskiy Raykom of the party is being carefully studied. Here use is being made not only of the data of direct observations of workers of the apparatus and members of the methodological council at the local level, but information is also accumulated on punch cards developed in the Institute of the History of the Party attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Esto-

nia. The punch card index helps the raykom to process and analyze more quickly the information that is received, information which is richer in terms of content, and to disseminate positive experience more effectively. At the same time, the completion of the punch cards also disciplines the secretaries of the primary party organizations and induces them to think through more carefully the questions which are planned to be discussed at the party meetings.

At the beginning of 1982, the organization and party work centers were transformed into party work and information centers. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and its department of organization and party work are devoting a great deal of attention to the improvement of the activity of the centers and methodological councils. In order to strengthen the scientific foundations of their activity, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia not long ago approved the "Model Statute on the Methodological Council and the Party Work and Information Center". The department of organization and party work regularly convenes conferences (seminars) of the chairmen of the methodological councils and the heads of the centers; plans have been made to conduct a review-competition of their work.

Centers and methodological councils have been created in the majority of gor-koms, raykoms and party committees of the large primary party organizations. In the party committees, where there is no room for centers, organization and party work corners have been created. In the party committees of the republic there are now 24 such centers (corners) in all, on the basis of which 31 methodological councils are operating. They are making increasingly broad use of the various ways and means of the study, generalization and dissemination of progressive experience of the lower party links.

Along with this basic task, the centers and methodological councils take part in the organization of the training of the elected party aktiv, they help the workers of the apparatus to prepare the members of the party committees, they collect and systematize the information materials received from the local level, and they study and analyze public opinion, on the basis of which they develop appropriate recommendations, they study and systematize the publications of the periodical press and the specialized literature on the experience of party work. The materials accumulated by the methodological councils are concentrated in the party work and information centers. There the following works are available: The works of V. I. Lenin, the materials of the party congresses and the Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the decrees of the Central Committee, literature on questions of party construction (monographs, pamphlets, articles from party journals and newspapers), and training and visual aids.

The majority of the centers are equipped and designed scientifically. For workers of the apparatus and the aktiv, there are stands here, selections of methodological materials, references which generalize the experience of the party organizations in regard to the preparation and conduct of party meetings, the organization of control and the verification of execution, the guidance of the public organizations, etc. In subject folders instructional materials can be found concerning the long-term and current planning of the work of the party organizations, models of party documents, memoranda for party housekeeping, plans for the social development of the region, enterprises, etc.

The party work and information centers operate under the guidance of the party committees. The methodological councils organize and conduct their work on a public basis. The composition of the councils includes experienced party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, activists of the party organizations, who have a profound knowledge of the theory and practice of party construction, the activity of the organs of state administration and public organizations. As a rule, the councils are headed by the first secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms of the party. They are guided in their work by the provisions concerning the center and the methodological council operating under it, which are confirmed by the bureau of the corresponding party committee. The members of the methodological council work in sections, studying and generalizing--each in his sphere--the progressive experience of the primary, plant party organizations and party groups. The plans of the work of the methodological councils are also approved in the bureau of the party committees.

The party information which is received in the centers is accumulated on punch cards, file signals and operational information cards. There are also plans and calendars of the measures being conducted by the party committees, bulletins, memoranda, and paper-case files. For example, in the center of the Khar'yuskiy Raykom of the Communist Party of Estonia there are files with materials on party meetings, plans of work, and memoranda of the party informants. Twice a year a methodological bulletin is published on various questions of party life. A special stand tells about the attendance of party meetings by raykom workers. The members of the methodological council constantly support the link with the party aktiv of the rayon, instruct it in the planning of work, the conduct of clerical work, and take part in the measures of the party committee.

The party work and information center of the Lenin Raykom of the party in the city of Tallinn is devoting a great deal of attention to the improvement of the verification of the execution of the directives of the party and the government, the decisions of the plenums and raykom bureaus, and the assemblies of the primary party organizations. There are special cards, on which the critical remarks of communists are noted. On the basis of the critical remarks and proposals expressed by communists at the election meetings in 1982, the raykom of the party approved the plan of measures, in the realization of which all departments of the raykom are engaged. Beginning in December of the year before last, an operational information card was introduced, on which a responsible raykom official, who has been in the party organization, indicates the purpose of the attendance, his observations and proposals with respect to the examination of this or that critical remark. Close contacts with the primary party organizations and their attendance by raykom workers and members of the methodological council stir the communists into activity and increase their avant-garde role in production and public activity.

Good work is being done by the center of the Payde Raykom of the party (head: E. Avila), which has been operating since 1976. The raykom allotted comfortable premises to it and furnished them with everything necessary. Here the stands "Composition and Organizational Structure of the Communist Party of Estonia"

"Composition and Structure of the Rayon Party Organization", and "Admittance to the Ranks of the CPSU in the Rayon Party Organization", and others have been designed.

The center has a great deal of reference material at its disposal. Clippings from the central, republic and regional press are filed by subjects. Subject folders hold information on the problems of organization and party work, documents and decisions of the higher party organs, instructions, and methodological recommendations. Thanks to the index of the materials available in the center, the party activist can easily obtain answers to the questions that interest him.

The party work and information center and the methodological council of the Payde Raykom devote a great deal of attention to the study of the practice of the preparation and conduct of party meetings. And this is natural, for the party meeting is an effective form of collective work and an effective means of the training of communists. In the center there is a special stand which reflects not only the regularity of the holding of party meetings, but also their subject matter (organizational, ideological, production, teaching and educational questions, party guidance of the public organizations, etc.). The stand indicates separately the terms of the holding of party meetings in party organizations headed by party committees, party buros, and in party organizations with few members. This helps the raykom workers to guide the primary party organizations in a differentiated manner.

An information sheet is developed by a section of the methodological council, which studies the practice of the preparation and conduct of party meetings, together with the organizational department of the raykom. It is completed by the secretaries of the primary party organizations after every meeting and sent to the center. On the basis of the data received, the head of the center prepares generalized material (information for the quarter and for the year), with which he acquaints the raykom workers, the secretaries of the primary party organizations, and other elected members of the party aktiv. As a rule, this information also includes recommendations for the improvement of work.

When in February of the past year the Payde Raykom and the Institute of the History of the Party attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia organized a scientific and practical conference on the subject "The Increase of the Role of the Party Meeting in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress", the methodological council for party work and information contributed significantly to its success. Together with staff members of the institute sector of party construction, the subject matter of the conference was determined. The attendance of an open party meeting in the Payde Road Repair and Construction Administration, organized by the center for newly elected secretaries of primary party organizations of the rayon, became an original introduction to the conference. The training of the aktiv on the basis of concrete experience was the goal.

The attendance of party meetings by members of the methodological council has become well-established practice in the Payde Rayon. At the center of attention are such questions as the discipline and activeness of communists, the

pithiness of reports and speeches, etc. After every such visit to the local level, the methodological council sums up the visit in the presence of the secretary of the primary party organization and the director of the enterprise or institution.

The rayon newspaper VYYTLEV SYNA, whose board of editors is represented in the council, is of great assistance to the center and its methodological council. The newspaper systematically illuminates the activity of the party organizations and groups of the rayon. Materials of the above-mentioned scientific-practical conference were also published in it.

Results have been produced by the activity of the methodological council under the party work and information center of the Kokhtla-Yarve Gorkom of the party. The council, which is composed of 45 people, is directed by a presidium of 9 members, headed by the first secretary of the gorkom, Ye. Filatov. The methodological council is subdivided into 10 sections, which concern themselves with the following questions:

- The activity of the party organizations of industrial enterprises in regard to increasing production efficiency and the improvement of the economic mechanism;
- the realization of the right of control of the activity of administration by the party organizations;
- socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward work;
- ways and means of increasing the aggressiveness of all links of the party organizations;
- the control and verification of the fulfillment of party decisions;
- the selection, placement and training of cadres;
- the growth of the ranks of the party and the increase of the avantguard role of the communists;
- the work of small party organizations;
- the planning of party work, the preparation and conduct of party meetings sessions of the party buros (party committees);
- the guidance of public organizations.

Files are set up in every section, in which the plans of work and the protocols of sessions are preserved. The sections are assembled quarterly and their plans are coordinated with the long-term plan of the party gorkom. The presidium of the council also meets once a quarter, reviewing and verifying basically the execution of the plans of the work of the sections.

During the past few years, the methodological council has focused its attention on the increase of the fighting capacity of the primary party organizations. To help the secretaries of the primary and plant party organizations, party group organs, and the other elected members of the aktiv, various leaflets (recommendations) have been compiled in regard to various directions and spheres of intra-party work ("Leaflet for the Secretary of the Territorial Party Organization in Work at the Place of Residence", "The Communist--An Active Fighter of the Party", "Leaflet for the Planning of Ideological Work", etc.).

In the party work and information center, materials on the experience of work studied by the methodological council are accumulated and systematized. Expositions and stands are designed at the proper level. All of this is utilized in the training of the party aktiv and in the conduct of group and individual consultations. The contribution of the members of the methodological council to the organization of the training of young communists has also been noted.

The work of the center and the methodological council is the subject of the constant attention and concern of the Kokhtla-Yarve Party Gorkom and its buro. Two premises have been allocated to the center. An efficient system for the collection and processing of intra-party information has been developed. Signal cards (containing data on the conduct of party meetings, on the members and candidate members of the gorkom, on the activity of party organizations and visits to them by gorkom workers and members) are used in the center for its registration and analysis of party work.

Work in connection with critical remarks and proposals is well established in the gorkom. All observations that are received are studied by the first secretary of the gorkom and the author is informed about their realization. The materials available in the party work and information center show that concrete measures are taken in regard to critical observations, the realization of which is strictly controlled by responsible officials of the party gorkom.

In Kokhtla-Yarve there is, very likely, not a single activist in political work who, to some extent or another, would not require the assistance of the public workers of the center. An average of 200-250 persons per year visit the center. The role of the methodological council in the affairs of the party gorkom is constantly increasing. During 1982-1983, members of the methodological council studied or verified various spheres of the work of more than 60 primary party organizations. On the recommendation of the methodological council, 3 questions in 1980, 4 questions in 1981, and 6 questions in 1982 were taken to the gorkom buro.

Many other party work and information centers and their methodological councils are also making an outstanding contribution to the activity of the party committees. Thus, the "Diary of the Chairman of the Commission for the Realization of Control of the Activity of the Administration and the Work of the Apparatus" and the "Diary of the Party Organizer in the Brigade" were prepared by the methodological council of the Narva Party Gorkom. In Rakvere the center has become a genuine information and methodology center of the rayon committee.

The study of the activity of the party work and information centers in our republic makes it possible to draw a conclusion concerning the indisputable growth of their authority among the party workers and the aktiv. The information collected in them serves one goal--to help the party aktiv to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of this or that problem of party construction, to acquaint themselves with, and to adopt, experience of work that has proved itself positively in practice.

However, it would be incorrect to assert that the activity of all party work and information centers is at the proper level. In some centers a great deal

of attention is being devoted to external design, while at the same time the main thing is undervalued--the living link with the primary and plant party organizations and party groups, the study of the experience of their work, and the extension of methodological assistance.

Not everywhere is the composition of the methodological councils felicitously selected. The secretaries of primary party organizations with a long record of party activity, including former secretaries, must be involved in their work on a broader basis. There are instances where the methodological councils are not divided into sections--which complicates the analysis and generalization of the experience of work in regard to concrete directions. Some party organizations are not sufficiently strict in holding the communists responsible who work in the methodological councils and their sections.

The here and there rather frequent replacement of the heads of the party work and information centers is undesirable. This was the case, for example, in the Kalinin Rayon of Tallinn. As a result, the work suffered and the positive experience accumulated previously in regard to the activity of these centers and their methodological councils was lost.

In some party committees (for example, in the Vil'yandi Raykom), the centers practically only beginning to work. They frequently lack a duty schedule for the members of the methodological councils and no account of the visits of the party aktiv has been introduced. These shortcomings are caused primarily by subjective reasons and are therefore easy to eliminate. The only thing that is needed is an understanding of the importance of party information.

The party work and information centers, the creation of which was dictated by practice itself, are called upon to reorganize their activity more energetically on the basis of the demands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, so as to study more profoundly and to generalize the experience of the primary party organizations with respect to the execution of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the party and of the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The party must constantly improve the forms and methods of its work, comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The responsible role in this belongs to the party work and information centers as the methodological centers of the party committees. The task consists in the general effective development of their activity.

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REGIONAL

IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSIONS URGED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON SPECIFIC LITHUANIAN ISSUES

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 14 Jan 84) pp 11-15

[Article by Yu. Tevyalis, secretary, Vilkauskis Raykom, Lithuanian CP: "Problems of Forming a Scientific Worldview"; under the heading: "Party Life: Experience in Ideological Work"]

[Text] In a developed socialist society, a scientific world outlook holds a dominant position. The modern Soviet man is educated, an honorable worker, a public-spirited man, a patriot, an internationalist. But that does not yet mean that all working people have acquired a consistent scientific world outlook.

The Vilkauskis Raykom of the Lithuanian Communist Party, in cultivating the spirit of a scientific world outlook in workers, is guided by the positions and conclusions found in comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In our system of communist education we utilize political, economic, moral, patriotic, international, legal and other guidelines for instruction and enlightenment. A scientific world outlook is shaped out of them.

Especially pressing are problems in management and coordination of the activity of propagandists, teachers, and print and television media workers, as to their training, instructing activists, the interaction of individual units and organizations with the mission of participating in the educational effort.

An ideological commission of the party raykom and the coordinating council attached to it direct communist education work in the rayon. At its session, the commission analyzes the work of individual ideological institutions, organizations and collectives and coordinates their actions. The members of the council, in visiting production collectives, kolkhozes and enterprises, study the work of individual ideological links in the collectives and prepare materials for the sessions of the soviet. Last year at its meeting the soviet analyzed thoroughly the state of communist instruction in the Pajevonis, Bartninkai and Vistitis kolkhozes. At the present time the primary party, Komsomol and trade union organizations in the above-mentioned farms, the kolkhoz managements, and the apilinke soviets of people's deputies are guided by recommendations developed for improving this work.

The District Soviet for Coordination of Atheist Work and similar soviets at enterprises hold to the principle of gradualism in organizing the entire educational effort. However, it does happen that some people involved in this field may go too far in their eagerness to obtain substantial results immediately. Consequently in coordinating the activity of individual links of the educational process we try to determine precisely the purposes, and the tasks which one should aim for in working with a particular category of people, depending on their level of awareness, general education, etc.

Highly-qualified cadres are necessary for this work. A school for shaping a scientific world-outlook has already been operating for several years at the party raykom. Propagandists, organizers, and lecturers in political education schools study there. We feel that in the entire cadre-preparation process, inadequate attention is paid to studying concrete problems that are particularly urgent in Lithuania. Consequently, during conversations with believers it sometimes happens that people do not understand each other because propagandists and lecturers lack knowledge. Nor is there enough special literature. And sometimes it is hard to get the literature that is published.

The party raykom and its commission on ideology are trying to transfer the center of ideological effort to the labor collective, to the primary cell of the collective--the factory, farm, or cattle-breeding brigade.

In Lithuania one encounters occurrences of religious extremism, encouraged mainly from abroad. Some of the people, having listened too much to inciting speeches by priests and extremists who are seconded by centers of foreign propaganda, misinterpret the principles of freedom of conscience enunciated by the USSR Constitution, and frequently regard the statements of an atheist concerning religion or the clergy as an infringement of rights granted by the Constitution.

Here is one such example. When S. Tamkyavichyus, a rector from Kybartai, had criminal proceedings instituted against him for libelous statements of an anti-Soviet nature during his sermons and for breaking USSR laws, a letter was received by the editor of the district newspaper PERGALE from B. Daugeliene, an employee of the Kybartai Domestic Services and Goods Pavilion (the letter was published in the newspaper PERGALE on 14 May 1983). She wrote that many Kybartai residents did not like the priest's statements concerning teachers and Soviet workers. In turn, several active believers at the shops did not like her letter. They insulted its writer. The communists at the community service shops, under the leadership of group-organizer M. Koviene, tried to explain to these women what offenses the [Catholic] priest had perpetrated, and how they themselves were guilty in attacking a companion simply because she had expressed her opinion honestly. These conversations bore fruit.

We develop a scientific world outlook not only with words, even though they do have much significance. Attention to and respect for every person are requisite, regardless of his attitude to religion.

The Silupe kolkhoz party organization has accumulated interesting experience. A group of 27 people works at the Matlaukas Cattle Farm. Here men and women believers also work, together with famous top achievers of labor such as Zena Luksiene, deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and other communists. However, all conscientious workers on the farm are treated with the same respect; their labor is evaluated in the same way. Milkmaids I. Baukiene and B. Klastaitiene received top awards more than once and their photographs were placed on the farm's Honor Bulletin-board; T. Liukiniaviciene received a bronze medal of the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievement on the occasion of the Day of the Farm Worker. And nobody reproached them for being believers. In word and deed, the farm workers support the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet government and do not succumb to the instigations of religious extremists.

The shaping of proper public opinion is supported by the united "political days" arranged in the district. To increase the effectiveness of this work, theme political days are set up during which reporters and lecturer groups from the party raykom visit the labor collectives and deliver lectures on one theme but analyze it as to various aspects. It is very important to remember that in shaping a scientific world outlook, a large role is played by work, the organization of recreational, social, and democratic relationships in the collective. We seek to orient the leaders of the collectives to resolving these problems.

Traditions, on which the forming of emotions depends, also have great importance for the shaping of a scientific world outlook. Like in the entire republic, memorial days for the dead are celebrated in our district: in the cemeteries, lamps are lit and verses are read on the meaning of human life. The name-bestowal ceremony is being celebrated ever more widely. This celebration is particularly colorful in the Kybartai apilinke [district], where an excellent specialist and guardian of folk traditions works: he is A. Capskis, chairman of the apilinke soviet of people's deputies.

An extraordinarily important event in human life is the wedding. Everyone extends wishes to the young couple--that their family will be strong, happy; that no adversities will destroy it. Employees of the District Civil Registry [Zags] seek to have the moments of the festive wedding made memorable for life to the young couple and their relatives.

However, increasingly fewer people remain who know the ancient Lithuanian folk wedding rites well. There is also a lack of literature on these matters. In 1977 the Mokslas Publishing House issued a brochure "Active personages in the Lithuanian Folk wedding" in which only individual fragments of wedding ceremonies are collected, while in R. Gedriene's book "Civil Rites" this question is resolved on a totally different plane.

Extensive material from investigations of contemporary bridal ceremonies is detailed in the publication "The Contemporary Suvalkai Village" of the Historical Institute, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences (Mokslas, Vilnius, 1981, in Lithuanian); however, in this book we find descriptions of ceremonies and traditions interspersed with sociological research tables, and

there are no songs, texts and speeches, so this work does not attract the attention of wedding organizers. Indeed, the majority of books on this subject is intended for specialists in Lithuanian folklore, or for teachers. Therefore at times the arrangement of wedding ceremonies locally is left to chance. The most diverse amateur organizers of ceremonies take advantage of this situation: they practically climb out of their skins to make everything "jolly," with low-class humor and double-entendre songs which at times will make one blush. Are we not vulgarizing this wonderful family celebration?

The Republic Soviet on National Traditions must take more care of wedding ceremonies and think them through better. A modern model of the wedding ceremony should be developed on the basis of ancient and the best contemporary traditions, one which would offer the possibility for people to introduce elements of their own creativity into it. Such a model would enable useful traditions of the wedding ceremony to be renewed and banality and Philistinism to be fought. Branch Civil Registry Offices should make an effort to have the newlyweds and their companions take a more active part in the wedding ceremony.

Obviously, a more complicated ritual of a wedding rite requires more time. On the one hand, this is a positive feature, as the celebration itself will become more moving; on the other hand, it is very difficult to do this, as there are many young couples getting married, but only one Civil Registry Office in the district. I think that suitable people in the district could be found and trained and premises could be located, and then weddings could be performed not only by those who work in the Zags branch; but also, as needed, there would be one or two or more groups, which would likewise include the leaders of the local soviets, who could perform the wedding ceremony at the appropriate standard, but of course thought must be given to establishing this in law.

It is also very important to look at the funeral ceremony. It is necessary that the farewell with the departed take place in a specially equipped location. This is very important. Recently premises for farewell with the departed were equipped in the district center. We intend to improve the services offered by workshops that put up tombstones and monuments. Supervision of their activity will be improved.

Other social customs also have considerable significance for people. In fact, when you are living in a small district town, you hear the sound of songs and merriment in some house almost every Saturday or Sunday. With the improvement in material well-being, more and more guests gather for such celebrations, while organizing and carrying them out becomes a distinct problem. P. Pecura wrote about this in his book "Atheism and Modernity" published last year. He believes that people must be taught to mark holidays. It is rightly said that the school must play a major role, and I should like to add, the Soviets for National Traditions as well. I support those who say that specialized premises are very much needed for familial celebrations. In Vilnius there is a House of Family Festivities; in district towns, it

should suffice to furnish a modest hall or reception room. In this way both the problem of providing tranquility [from festivities] to many people and one of the most important tasks of moral education would be resolved. Architects and city planners must start thinking about this seriously.

Religious extremists seek to pick youth in schools as their target. In church they set up a Christmas tree, near which Grandfather Frost gives out gifts. Children who serve at the church services are issued clothing specially intended for this. Children's activities are organized in the [Catholic] church. The effort to attract children in every way is only one part of the matter. Another is the attempt to divert children from activities organized in the school. Religious extremists try to achieve this during sermons by reviling teachers, accusing them of supposedly "teaching children evil." The Pioneer and Komsomol organizations were accused of these and even more serious "sins." Kybartai residents often heard slander from the church pulpit about how supposedly, wherever Komsomol members gather, coarseness and vice flourish there that will cripple the soul of the young person.

The teachers' collective of the Kybartai K. Donelaitis Middle School organized an evening party for grandfathers and grandmothers. During preparation for the first party of this kind, great doubts arose. Will they come? Will they like it? But the party exceeded all expectations. Those who attended, and there were many, listened with interest to the explanations about the activities of the Little Octobrists, of the Pioneers, and of the Komsomol members; they watched the amateur performances of their grandchildren and visited their handicraft exhibits. The educators explained to the elderly people some principles of pedagogy, particularly with regard to the following: if you want to rear an ethical, kind adult, it is very important for family and school opinions to be in accord on questions of morals, behavior and culture.

We disseminated the Kybartai experience throughout the district, inviting organizers of extra-curricular work in all schools to one such party. But the Kybartai educators did not rest on their laurels. Yu. Dirvonskis, the principal of K. Donelaitis Middle School, now arranges similar evenings for the pupils' parents.

Success of educational work depends to a great degree on the consistency and continuity of the educational process. We take this into account during organization of educational work with pupils, combining measures of the school year and summer vacation. Already for a number of years all district school children have been included in organized summer vacation activities, spending at least one term in summer camps (24 working days). In summer the youngest children relax in Dobilelis, a Pioneer camp on the shores of Lake Vishtitis, and also in other Pioneer camps organized at the Vishtitis Middle School, the Paezeriai Eight-year School, and others.

Older pupils pass their holidays in work-and-recreation camps, which have become especially popular.

Work-and-recreation camps offer the opportunity of providing a systematic comprehensive education during the summer period too. Experience over many

years has demonstrated that when summer recreation is well organized, crime among minors is reduced and they mature in a more healthy fashion. Operation of the work-and-recreation camps depends on the good intentions and mutual agreement between the local organizers and the leaders of the enterprise. While evaluating positively all the good in the activity of the work-and-recreation camps, it should be noted that in many localities too little attention is yet paid to broadening the children's horizons. More excursions and trips must be arranged. The question of vacations for teachers working in camps during summer is not yet resolved.

Cultural education institutions bring a large input into instructional work. In the district libraries sections are equipped to provide literature, and exhibits and other measures for propagating a materialistic world outlook are often arranged.

The Pajevoniai Library, directed by a Komsomol member of the early postwar years, E. Karitskaite, is especially noted for its promotion of literary propaganda.

An important factor of materialistic education is the organization of people's leisure, drawing them into an active public life. In this area the Houses of Culture carry on important work. At present 221 collectives of amateur artists unite almost 3,000 enthusiasts.

The further the Soviet people march on the path toward the creation of communism, the more evident becomes the victory of a scientific world outlook. We must not lose sight of the interdependence existing between economic and socio-political, as well as spiritual progress. Conditions are improving for the final triumph of the socialist way of life, for the shaping of a scientific world-outlook in people and of standards of communist morality. The decrees of the May and November (1982) and also the June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee pointed to further directions for the development of our society and outlined new tasks in the activity and in the indoctrination of workers. The party raykom is directing all primary party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, leaders of enterprises, and all ideological training links toward the goal of indoctrinating people with noble progressive convictions, people noted for their high ethics and free of any vestiges of the past.

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REGIONAL

LVOV OBLAST, ALLEGED SPECIAL TARGET OF FOREIGN SUBVERSION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by V. Vasilets and A. Gurevich, special PRAVDA correspondents, Lvov Oblast: "Truth Cannot Be Refuted"]

[Excerpt] "Lvov communists are constantly aiming to improve their mastery of propaganda, and are seeking new, influential forms and techniques for work with people," V. Dobrik, first secretary of the Lvov Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, told us in a conversation. "We see it as our task to extract the class significance from every fact of life, to force each fact to battle our ideological opponents and the prejudices and delusions of persons who do not understand truth, or are simply so accustomed to what surrounds them, and who perceive these surroundings as something that just dropped from heaven."

Such tenacity, indeed, is necessary. The Lvov Region, which entered the path of socialist development later than the rest of our oblasts, is subjected to especially fierce ideological assaults from abroad. From there, select forces of calumniators seek to manipulate the facts of Carpathia's complex historical destiny and to pierce the souls of at least a few persons with the poisoned dagger of nationalism. This is why counter-propaganda is at the center of attention today among mass information methods in the Lvov Region: the political education system, the society Znaniye [knowledge], the Yaroslav Galan political club, schools of atheism, rural gatherings, meetings of labor associations, and individual conversations with working people. Life itself provides the richest resources for such work.

It is well-known that the bourgeois past of the western Ukrainian lands was truly tragic. In the two pre-war decades alone more than 300,000 deprived residents left their native land and went off to sell their labor in Canada, the USA, and Argentina. According to bourgeois statistical data, in 1936 30,000 unemployed were recorded in the city of Lvov alone. The American author William Saroyan called his impression of the Lvov Region in those times a "nightmarish dream."

The difficult economic situation was aggravated by the national lack of rights of the indigenous Ukrainian population. Everywhere Ukrainian schools

were being shut down, and the Ukrainian language was practically prohibited. The noted poet and revolutionary Aleksandr Gavriilyuk wrote that in these lands, the route into science for the children of village workers was far longer than was the road to prison. Today, the poet's son, having gone through the university of experience in the concentration camps and prisons of the bourgeois government, is now Professor Mikhail Gavriilyuk; he directs one of the largest educational institutions of the country, the Lvov Engineering Institute, and has been elected a candidate for membership in the oblast party committee.

Much can be related about such people. And this not just for individual personages. In the Skolevskiy Rayon there is a whole ethnic group of Ukrainian highlanders, the Boyks. Their life in the past was evidence of extreme poverty and absence of rights. When the Boyks asked for help because of constant floods in the mountains, the bourgeois authorities officially permitted them... to beg for alms.

Now the Boyks live a life worthy of human beings. They graze flocks of kolkhoz sheep in the mountains, they have schools and hospitals, they speak, read and sing in their native tongue. Recently the publisher released an interesting scientific monograph entitled "Ethnic Study of the Boyk Region." The old Boyk Fedor Kirchiv, who tasted a great deal of sorrow in his life, guards this book as a most precious treasure. This serious work was written by his son, Roman Kirchiv, doctor of historical sciences. All five children of Fedor Kirchiv got a higher education: Ivan is the chief livestock specialist of the kolkhoz; Maria is a candidate for an advanced science degree and a university instructor; Olga and Irina are school-teachers.

It is thus that the Soviet government carries on a genuine struggle for the rights of man, ensuring true freedom from exploitation and from social and national oppression, and offering to each person broad opportunities for the many-sided development of his abilities.

This is it, the supreme fact of our life! Intentional attempts are made to silence this fact, to distort it, to heap abuse on it, but it cannot be nullified. And every truly thinking person understands and sees this. Let us cite here the opinion of Edwin Nanson, a Canadian fisherman who visited Lvov recently. "Speaking frankly," he wrote in LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA, "I did not expect to see well-organized cities and villages and developed industry and agriculture, nor to meet happy people. At home I was being attuned to quite the opposite: 'Why there, it's just like the army, everyone marches in step, there is only heavy manual labor at the factories, while in the country they still plow with horses.' This may seem funny to you, but imagine yourselves in my place. For many years I have been subscribing to the American magazine READERS' DIGEST, which publishes all kinds of lies about the Soviet Union. But how is an ordinary man to distinguish truth from falsehood if he never read anything else about your country and had not seen it? Now, after the trip, I have understood that no one is likely to succeed in duping me."

In the Ukraine it is remembered well how the lackeys of fascism, the bourgeois nationalists, tried during the war as well as in the early post-war years to stop the historical process in Carpathia with fire and sword. One of them was a native of the village Pobuzhany, Busskiy rayon, named Dmitri Kupyak, nicknamed Kley. With his personal participation, the bandits in the rayon territory tortured to death 200 people innocent of any offense. Today he is the ringleader of a pack of wolves--and a respectable restaurant owner in the Canadian city of Toronto, where his former pals and confederates, hiding out from justice, gather together to express indignation about "the violation of human rights in the USSR."

Somewhere on the pearly sands of the American state of Florida, Bogdan Koziy is warming his old bones under the hot sun; he is an executioner by profession and calling, a fascist by conviction, and during the war years he did away with numerous citizens of Jewish origin. Tens and hundreds of murderers, whose hands are crimson with the blood of Soviet people, have found refuge in the USA, where some among them shout louder than anybody about human rights. Is this compatible with the sacred memory of the dead? Is it not an insult to human dignity that the butchers have escaped punishment?

Alas, bourgeois propaganda is as silent as the grave about such connivance. Western "democracy" offers various lessons, but always far from humane ones. Let us recall the tragedy of the Soviet citizens Anna and Mikhail Polovchak. Having come to the USA and comprehended the overseas way of life, they decided to return to the USSR. But then their minor son Vladimir was abducted from them. He is not being allowed to go home. A boy who lacks life experience and political convictions is being scared with tales that prison awaits him at home.

The Polovchak drama is a stern warning to those who are still lured by the false glitter of overseas life. Read thoughtfully Mikhail Polovchak's message with which he appealed to Soviet authorities at one time from the USA: "I turn to you with a profound apology to my country and to my countrymen. I did not listen to them when they said to me: 'Why go to a strange land?' I stand guilty before my own family, which I myself pushed into suffering. In the Soviet Union I had received my education, I always had good earnings, I had built my own house. And I had the misfortune of voluntarily abandoning my homeland, of making this terrible mistake."

Mikhail Polovchak's letter, like Danila Pronyuk's, leads one to many reflections. You recognize ever more clearly how fruitful are the principles of Soviet democracy and the scale of our growth. The workers of the Western Ukraine, laboring with their hands and their enlightened minds and with the fraternal help of all the peoples of the Land of the Soviets, have built a new life based on the highest principles of human fairness. Not even a whole ocean of lies can refute this truth.

REGIONAL

RUPUBLIC VAAP MEETING ON PROPAGANDA

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 9 Feb 84 p 2

[Article: "To More Widely Propagandize the Achievements of Azerbaijan Science and Culture"]

[Text] The achievements of multinational Soviet science, literature and art are great, multifaceted and recognized world-wide. Their propaganda and dissemination outside of the boundaries of our country and the assistance to the cultural values exchange is one of most important aspects of the activities of the All-Union Agency for Authors' Rights [VAAP]. VAAP is a public organization created 10 years ago that carries out the leadership in the affairs for the protection of authors' rights with regard to the comprehensive development of science and culture in the USSR and the union republics, the control over the observance of the authors' rights and the fulfillment of international agreements. The agency also assists in the creation of the most favorable legal conditions for the moral and material prerequisites for the fruitful labor of scientists, writers, artists, composers, cinematographers, architects and journalists.

Definite work in this area is being carried out in Azerbaijan where, since 1975, the republic department of VAAP has been acting. The questions of further improvement of its activity were discussed at the conference of the representatives of the organizations--the initiators of VAAP, in Baku.

The Chairman of the VAAP Central Administration, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences K. M. Dolgov, talked about the work on the protection of authors' rights, about the increased tasks of the agency in light of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions, and dwelled on the problems that the republic department is facing.

The Head of the Azerbaijan Department of VAAP D. I. Shikhzamanov, the Minister of Culture of the Azerbaijan SSR Z.N. Bagirov, the Chairman of the Goskomizdat [State Publishing Commission] of the Azerbaijan SSR N.S. Ibragimov, the Vice-President of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Dzh.B. Gulivey and the Head of the Department for Propaganda and Agitation of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee A. F. Dashdamirov, spoke at the conference.

The summary was made by the Secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee R. E. Mekhtiyev.

It was noted at the conference that the republic department of VAAP faces the responsible task of promoting abroad the achievements of science, technology and the best works in the national literature and art. In the republic, a substantial scientific and cultural potential has been accumulated, and for the purposes of propaganda and dissemination of the remarkable samples of the Azerbaijan people's creativity, it is necessary to coordinate the efforts of the Academy of Sciences, all creative unions and organizations, and ministries and departments that participate in the VAAP activities, and to develop target-oriented combined measures. The practice of selecting works that are fit to represent Azerbaijan art outside of the boundaries of our country requires a radical improvement.

The Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers F. G. Akhmedov and the Head of the Department of Culture of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee V. M. Gulizade, participated in the work of the conference. (Azerinform).

12404

CSO: 1830/330

REGIONAL

UZBEKISTAN ISSUES LISTED IN SUPREME SOVIET RESPONSIBILITIES

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 2 (Feb) 1984 (signed to press 20 Jan 84) carries on pages 22-28 a 3500-word article by candidate of Juridical Sciences L. Krivenko on the 1977 Constitution of the USSR as it applies to Uzbekistan. Krivenko outlines the authorities and responsibilities of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet with respect to the lower level organs of government in Uzbekistan such as the soviets of people's deputies.

The republic Supreme Soviet bases its actions on the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and enacts them in Uzbekistan taking into account the requirements of local conditions. Having promulgated its decisions, resolutions, and procedural norms, the republic Supreme Soviet is then responsible for reviewing their enactment locally. As examples of this activity the following issues concerning Uzbekistan are given:

Increasing production and quality of consumer goods.

Increasing the authority of oblast and rayon soviets in regulating the activity of the agro-industrial complexes.

Enactment of measures to improve medical care for mothers and children in connection with Uzbekistan's high birth rate.

Propagandizing the positive experience of such soviets as the Akhunbabayev Kishlak Soviet in increasing land under tillage by liquidating vacant lots and unplanned roads, removal of isolated trees, and confiscation of surplus private plots.

Increasing the work qualifications of local soviet officials.

Maximizing the authority of the soviets in dealing with areas as capital construction, agriculture, education, health care, culture, trade, service sector, and in perfecting democratic principles and forging closer contact with the masses.

Fostering Social order and strengthening the struggle against violations of the law.

In conclusion the author offers suggestions for improvement in the work of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, including the broadening of the sphere of its activity so that its resolutions are not merely addressed to those, local soviets whose work it is able to review.

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CSO: 1830/354

REGIONAL

NEW UZBEK MINISTER OF SOCIAL SECURITY NAMED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 March 84 carries on page 1 a 50-word announcement of the promotion of YAKUBZHANOVA, Kh. to the post of Minister of Social Security on the Uzbek Council of Ministers.

FORMER UZBEK MINISTER OF SOCIAL SECURITY PROMOTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 March 1984 carries on page 1 a 500-word article devoted to the observation in Tashkent of International Women's Day. In the article SULTANOVA, Sayyera Umarovna, former Uzbek Minister of Social Security and voting member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, was referred to as Deputy Chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers.

NEW JOURNAL TO PROPAGANDIZE UZBEKISTAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 March 1984 carries on page 4 a 200-word announcement of the beginning of publication of the journal SOVETSKIY UZBEKISTAN. The journal will appear in Uzbek, Russian, Arabic, Dari, English, French, Spanish, German, Pharsi, Old Uzbek (Starouzbekskiy) and Urdu. It will illuminate the achievements of Uzbekistan in the areas of economics, science, culture, as well as Uzbekistan's wide international contacts.

CSO: 1830/359

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

FOUNDER OF LITHUANIAN ATHEISM HONORED--Today, a scientific conference took place, dedicated to the 350th anniversary of the birthday of the founder of atheism in Lithuania, Kazimeras Lischinskis. The conference was organized by the Philosophy, Sociology and Law Institute of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, together with the Lithuanian Department of the USSR Philosophical Society. At the conference, they heard the reports by Academician Yu. Yurginis, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Yu. Barzdaytis, Head of the Institute Sector B. Deksnis and the scientific associate E. Vasilevskis. The reports discussed the scientific works of K. Lishchinskis, among them the treatise "About the Absence of God," for which this fighter for atheism was tortured to death. Also discussed was the development of atheist thought in Lithuanian and its significance in the contemporary ideological struggle. [Text] [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 23 Feb 84 p 3] 12404

LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE COMMISSION FORMED--The Republic Commission for Lithuanian Language has been formed anew. The chairman of the commission is I. Palenis, professor at the Vilnius State University imeni V. Kapsukas and doctor of Philosophical Sciences; the deputy chairman is Professor V. Mazhyulis, academician of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, head of the Baltic Philology Chair of the University and doctor of Philosophical Sciences; the secretary of the commission is docent of the University A. Pirochkinas, candidate of Philosophical Sciences. The commission will discuss most important questions regarding the normalization of the Lithuanian language, and its decisions will be mandatory for all institutions and organizations. The first session of the commission has taken place, where its tasks and the work plan have been discussed. The secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee L. Shepetis spoke at the session; V. Baltrunas, the head of the Science and Educational Institutions Department of the Central Committee also participated. The address of the republic Commission of the Lithuanian language is Vilnius, Ulitsa Universiteto 5, Vilnius State University imeni V. Kapsukas, Philological Department. [Text] [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 25 Feb 84 p 4] 12404



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